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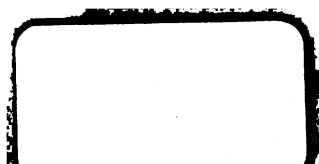
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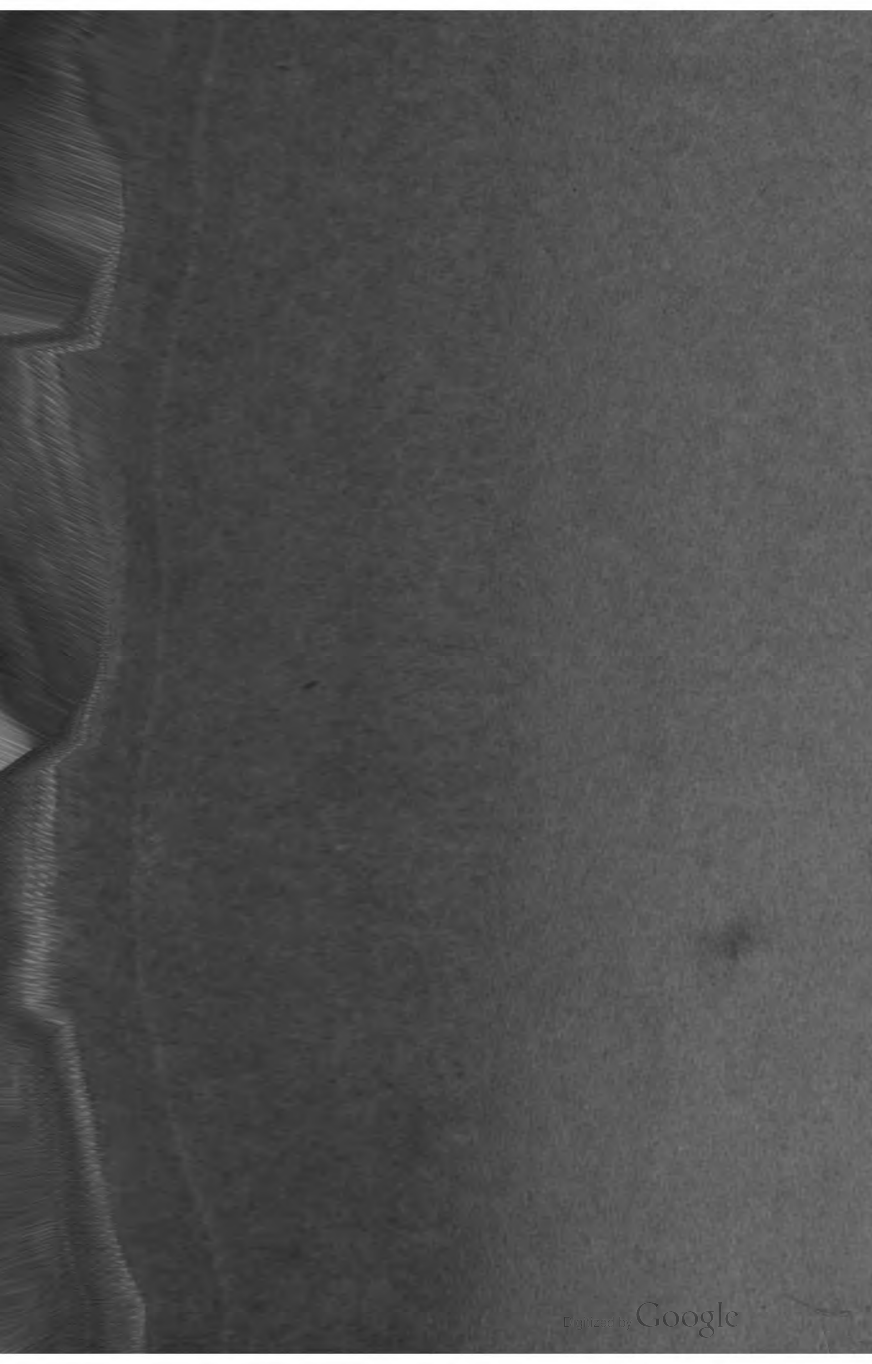
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LAST HOURS
of
SHERIDAN'S CAVALRY

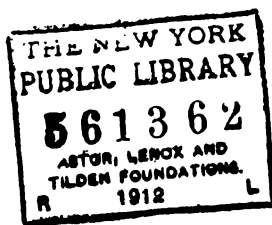
A REPRINT
OF
WAR MEMORANDA

BY
HENRY EDWIN TREMAIN
Late Brevet Brigadier-General, Major, and
Aide-de-Camp United States Volunteers

NEW YORK
BONNELL, SILVER & BOWERS
1904

CHM

Checked
May 1913



P.S.—The standard represented on the cover of this volume is an exact reproduction (reduced size) of the pennant carried immediately behind General Sheridan to indicate his presence on the field and his headquarters,—the original of which is in the possession of Mrs. Sheridan.

THE PUBLISHERS.

NEW YORK, September, 1904.

NEW YORK
JUL 1904
VIA RAIL

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TO
JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER, LL.D., A.M., ETC.,
(Brevet Major General, New York State Militia)
WHO RESCUED,
EDITED AND PUBLISHED (1871-72) THESE NOTES,
THIS REPRINT
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY THEIR AUTHOR,
1904.

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PREFACE.

A BOOK may be either a growth, a necessity, or a speculation. Being neither, these effusions need no preface. Their revival happens to be the most convenient method to respond to the frequent requests for them made upon the author.

The scattered fragments of which this book is composed were brought together and launched under the circumstances stated in the introductory footnote copied from the 1885 pamphlet at the beginning of Chapter VIII. of this volume. Subsequently the Editor of the *Maine Bugle* while republishing these notes, with some useful remarks of his own, requested an additional chapter about the Battle of Appomattox; and this request led to the compilation from the official records that constitutes Chapter XIII. The author, therefore, expresses his indebtedness to *Anchor*, to the *Army and Navy Journal*, to the Editor and Publisher (General J. P. Cilley) of the *Maine Bugle*, to the Clarendon

Historical Society of Edinburgh (1884), and to the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, as published under Acts of Congress, for the presentation of the pages thrown together in this volume. To General James Grant Wilson, author of the *Life of General Grant* in the *Great Commander* series, special acknowledgment and thanks are tendered for copies of the map of the Appomattox region loaned from that work.

THE AUTHOR.

NEW YORK, Sept, 1904.

LAST HOURS OF SHERIDAN'S CAVALRY.

CHAPTER I.

The situation stated.—The forty miles of line.—Lee's desperate assault to break through at Fort Steadman on 25th of March.—The new dispositions made by Grant on the 26th, 27th and 28th of March.—Sheridan's arrival on March 27th.—His command described.—It started March 29th.—The Second and Fifth Corps also relieved and marching.—Passing Reams-Station Battlefield.—Malone's "Bridge."—Dinwiddie Court-House.—Thursday, March 30th, gloomy.—The roads.—The army working.—The continuous line of battle twenty-eight miles long.—A wet, doleful and laborious day with high accomplishments.—Some dispatches.

THE long lines of the Union and Rebel armies were confronting each other about Petersburg. Within easy musket range, from the Charles City road to Richmond, north of the James river, crossing both the Appomattox and the James, and running along the south side of Petersburg, away to the west beyond Hatcher's run, a distance of nearly forty miles, were two continuous lines of rifle pits and forts, skirmish lines and batteries and earthworks of every conceivable size and

shape behind which, on both sides, stretched the camps of troops from every state of the Union. Lee's army on the north, representing the last hope of an effete and rebellious oligarchy; Grant's army on the south, representing the industry, intelligence, nationality, wealth, and power of an outraged and determined people.

While there was in one army that desperate valor which broke through the Union lines at dawn on the 25th of March, and captured Fort Steadman, there was with the other a calm, heroic determination, that consciousness of right and might which the same morning retook that stronghold from the enemy and sent him "whirling" beyond his own entrenchments. The Rebel army were recovering from the shock, and before the Union troops had appreciated the extent of this handsome battle and victory, won by the Ninth corps alone, the lieutenant-general had opened that "short, sharp, and decisive" campaign which, in *eleven days*, resulted not only in the capture of Petersburg and Richmond, but of the veteran host which upheld the rebellion, and with which the brave old Army of the Potomac had waged three years of bloody combat.

Following the battle of Fort Steadman,

were important movements of troops from the north to the south side of the James river, and other new dispositions took place on the 27th and 28th of March. But Grant's army cannot be said to have commenced its campaign until Wednesday, March 29. To give a full and accurate narrative of the great events happening during the succeeding eleven days is the professional duty of the future historian, by the light of all the evidence that time, labor, and official reports may produce; while, as the sailor must "spin his yarn," I only assert the privilege to chat away as we do around the bivouac fire by the dim twilight after the battle.

Starting, then, with the advance of Sheridan's cavalry early on the morning of Wednesday, March 29, we soon learn that the army is in general motion. Sheridan's command consisted at this time entirely of cavalry, accompanied by a few light guns. It comprised two wings—one of them the two divisions formerly of the Army of the Potomac, but more recently having arrived with Sheridan from the Army of the Shenandoah, and who, en route, had just been engaged in the famous raid, up the valley towards Lynchburg, and in effecting considerable damage to the James river canal, at that time of great

service to the enemy. * These two divisions were commanded respectively by Brevet Major-General Custer and Brigadier-General Devin, and formed a corps under the command of Brevet Major-General Merritt. The other wing comprised the one division more recently with the Army of the Potomac, but now detached, and commanded by Major-General Crook.

General Devin's division was known as the First division, and was composed of three brigades under Colonel Stagg, Colonel Fitzhugh, and General Gibbs. General Custer's was the Third division, his brigade commanders being Colonels Pennington, Wells, and Capehart. Major-General Crook's command was known as the Second division—more familiarly, in the Army of the Potomac, as “Gregg's old division”—and comprised the brigades of General Davies, Brevet Brigadier-Generals Irwin Gregg and Smith.

As soon as Sheridan had encamped with these troops on the 27th, between the Norfolk & Weldon and Norfolk & Petersburg railroads, and in rear of the Army of the Potomac, a column of the Army of the James, under Major-General Ord, and comprising troops selected from the Twenty-fourth corps,

* See note at end of this chapter.

under Major-General Gibbon, and from the Twenty-fifth (colored), under General Birney, passed through the camps, en route to the lines of the Second and Fifth corps, which they relieved on the morning of the 29th.

Thus, as the cavalry column moved that morning towards Ream's station, there were also moving from their old quarters the Second and Fifth corps, both in a southwesterly direction. The Second crossed Hatcher's run by the Vaughn road, and the Fifth lower down the stream. Thus the grand advance which was destined to decide the fate of the rebellion had fairly begun. Every foot of country over which the Army then trod will become historical. Unknown, uninviting places—many of them baptized in blood—will receive a name to be chronicled as a shrine for future patriot pilgrims. Know, then that the first of these localities reached by Sheridan's column was Ream's station; and as you sit by the roadside while the troopers are passing the old fortifications of this field of sanguinary strife you may hear each officer and soldier talking with earnest gesture to his comrade: "There is where our regiment was," says one. "Here is the place where the 'rebs' broke through," says another. "Don't you remember those woods?

How thick the 'Johnnies' were in there" exclaims a third. "Yes," says a fourth; "and here is where Hancock's headquarters were for a while." "I tell you," added the enthusiastic cavalier, after a moment's contemplation, "the 'rebs' played the devil with the 'footpads' that day. If it had not been for our dismounted cavalry, they'd all been 'gobbled;'" and many other such scraps of converse would drop from the ranks as one espied a familiar landmark.

It is so natural for a horseman to entertain a high appreciation of his own importance when alongside of a pedestrian that cavalrymen often feign a want of respect for the slow and steady infantry soldier.

By nine o'clock in the morning the head of the column had reached Rowanty creek, a stream formed by the junction of the famous Hatcher's run and Gravelly run at a crossing known as Malone's bridge. Like many other instances of American nomenclature the name failed to describe the place, there being no bridge. Having been a picket post of the enemy for a long time, the bridge had been destroyed, and we must halt to rebuild it. The stream was about fifty feet wide, with a bottomless bottom, and the soil on its banks of the same character. The pontoon train

was ordered up, and in the course of three or four hours, by the assistance of the piers of the old bridge and the excellent oak timber which the woods afforded, a substantial reconstruction was put up.

It was here that, during the previous advance of the army to Hatcher's run, in February ('65), that an interesting skirmish occurred between the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry and the Thirteenth Virginia (rebels) who were picketing this locality at the time, and in which the latter were charged and routed, losing many prisoners before they could destroy the bridge. This may partially explain why on this occasion the enemy offered no opposition.

The column now moved towards Dinwiddie Court-House, its head reaching there during the afternoon, without further incident than the dispersing of a party of the Sixteenth North Carolina who were attempting to barricade the roads leading to the village. By dark it was learned that Warren's (Fifth) corps had crossed the run, and was within communicating distance a few miles back on the highway known as the Vaughn road. Musketry firing had been heard from that direction during the afternoon, and it now proved to have been quite a severe engage-

ment between a division of the Fifth corps and Bushrod Johnson's of Anderson's corps. At almost any other time this might have been considered a battle; it certainly was a severe contest, and like so many of those Virginian combats was fought in the woods with musketry only; yet, while the losses approximated five hundred on each side, it was comparatively resultless. The enemy withdrew at its conclusion, believing us too strong for further aggression.

The roads the cavalry had been traveling were very bad. Custer's division, which was in the rear guarding the ammunition and medical trains, had scarcely made a quarter day's march; but, with well advanced lines, Sheridan, with Crook and Devin, halted at Dinwiddie.

Dinwiddie Court House is a small village, about thirteen miles from Petersburg, and before the war, of about two hundred inhabitants; and, although the county seat, it seemed to have contained when in its prime not over half a dozen dwellings. Most of them were now deserted; all looked very uncomfortable and dilapidated, the most inviting one being a roomy, large frame building, of country-tavern appearance, with a long portico in front, adapted to the use of three-legged

chairs and tobacco-spitting loungers. Conveniently situated, close to the roadside, it commands, in a most appropriate connection, an excellent view of the court-house and jail opposite. These latter edifices were once, *pro forma*, the chief sources of attraction to the town; but a good-sized room off the porch, with an elongated counter, now empty, very much resembled a "bar," and suggested that neighboring "planters"—as every simple farmer South is aristocratically termed—might find in front thereof exciting and congenial employment. The court-house betokened a more modern appearance than the specimens of rural architecture surrounding it, and was built of red brick, freshly painted. The roof, as though tottering under the unusual burden of new repairs and improvements thereupon, was bolstered up by immense timbers supporting its eaves. The court-room, in the upper story, formed a most excellent public dormitory, and the various legal and county offices, on the first floor, gave employment to many a wandering soldier. The floors were irreverently strewn with abstracts of title, venerable mortgages, copies of deeds, and other such interesting matter as appertains to a county clerk's office. This being one of the oldest counties in Virginia,

many of the documents were yellow with age, some bearing date as far back as the time of Governor Dinwiddie, and, for aught I know, furnishing golden opportunities to the American antiquarian. More readable trash was, however, discovered in the post-office adjoining, where several rebel mails were ransacked, and, in the absence of the wagons which were to have brought us some supper, served as our only repast for the night.

Close by the court-house stood a neat little frame church, prettily trimmed inside with evergreen and with neat appointments. Respected by the soldiers, the church, though much occupied as a convenient shelter from the storm, was more fortunate than its neighboring buildings, and escaped serious injury.

Adjoining stood a gloomy and desolate iron-barred stone jail, enclosed by a high, substantial fence, and presenting as uninviting and forbidding an abode for criminals, or even for negroes, as the "chivalry" could desire.

Near to the court-house were also long sheds and stalls for hundreds of horses; and it did not take a very great stretch of imagination to picture to oneself the groups which in former times might arrive here during "court week" to kill time, to patronize the tavern,

to talk "State's rights," perhaps to fight sham duels, and to trade in horse-flesh and man-flesh.

Now all was deserted. A dilapidated white woman or some faithful black might here and there be found representing a homestead, and beseeching officers to afford them a "gyard." The public house was partially occupied by a few poor white people, refugees from some other locality; but, with these exceptions, there were few inhabitants in the town.

The place had once before been visited by the Union troops during the movements of the Army of the Potomac cavalry, preceding the Battle of Hatcher's Run, in February, 1865. The Boydtown plank road—so called probably out of respect to the very ancient period when the road was of plank, of which fact abundant evidence, most annoying to travelers, yet remains—runs through Dinwiddie Court-house, and until quite recently had afforded the enemy one of his most useful roads of communication.

Sheridan planted his headquarters flag in front of the venerable tavern, and with himself and staff thus, as a matter of course, "put up" at the best hotel in the town.

The next day (Thursday, the 30th) was

one of those gloomy and stormy days that in Virginia often have interfered seriously with our military prospects—one of those days which make campaigners cross and anxious. While but little actual progress was made in the operations of the army, prodigies of labor were performed. The artillery, ammunition, and supply trains were almost immovable, and every corps on the march must build its corduroy road. General Custer was performing this duty for the cavalry; while Merritt's other division, under Devin, was, early in the morning, started in the advance on the road from Dinwiddie towards Ford's station on the Southside railroad. They had not gone far, however, before the enemy's cavalry were encountered, and a running fight took place, which resulted in finding the enemy's infantry well posted at Five Forks. Our cavalry was then, in turn, repulsed, but not without serious casualties among officers and men, principally of the Regular brigade.

During the day a portion of the Twenty-fourth corps had completed the line of the main army between the right of the Second corps and the left of the Sixth; so that, by night, without any serious fighting, and only some slight skirmishing, Grant's army had

taken up a continuous line of battle extending from the James river on the right to a point towards the left on the White Oak road, within four or five miles of Five Forks. His troops were disposed in the order of the Ninth corps off the extreme right, to the left of which rested the Sixth, then the troops of the Army of the James, under General Ord, then the Second and Fifth corps. On the north bank of the James the troops were principally colored, and, under the command of Major-General Weitzel, occupied the old lines already established. The cavalry, under Sheridan, remained holding the extreme left and rear at Dinwiddie Court-house, and made demonstrations on the roads leading to the Southside railroad, thus occupying the attention of the strong force of the enemy now known to be posted on the road from the court-house to Ford's station, and at a point where it is crossed by the White Oak road, running to Petersburg. Other smaller roads also intersect here, and from their number the locality has been popularly designated Five Forks.

The remarkable position of Grant's immense army challenges comparison. A continuous line of battle more than twenty miles long is an anomaly in war. But if the troops

north of the James be included in this estimation, eight miles more may be added, The night was dark and stormy. Every soldier slept on his arms, with the soft, wet ground for his couch, ready at a moment's warning to spring to the deadly conflict which each one expected at daylight.

Meanwhile, in the rear of this extended host, the mules floundered, teamsters swore, the wagons upset, the vigorous pioneers swung their axes, the woods echoed with the heavy thunder of falling trees, and the foundation of the roads, which seemed to have receded from beneath our feet, began to be secured on the timber of the forest. Thus only could the small trains which had been ordered to move with the troops be brought near enough to the new lines now assumed to render their supplies available and to be safe from a dash of the enemy's cavalry.

A quiet, disagreeable, stormy day, of which little would be said in the reports, and in whose history we can record nothing brilliant, the second day of this wonderful campaign was passed none the less laborious and fruitful.

NOTES. (a.) Sheridan's long and swift march from "The Valley" and around Richmond to join Grant on the James River gave the Richmond authorities much

anxiety. Under date of March 17, 1865, from his Headquarters at Petersburg, General Lee writes to the Confederate Secretary of War, General J. C. Breckinridge, that "The enemy seems still to be collecting a force in the Shenandoah Valley, which indicates another movement as soon as the weather will permit. . . I think these troops are intended to supply the place of those under General Sheridan, which it is plain General Grant has brought to his army. The addition of these three [there were brought but *two*] mounted divisions will give such cavalry, already numerically superior to ours, that it will enable him, I fear, to keep our communications to Richmond broken. *Had we been able to use the supplies which Sheridan has destroyed* in his late expedition in maintaining our troops in the Valley in a body, if his march could not have been arrested, it would at least have been rendered comparatively harmless, and we should have been spared the mortification that has attended it. Now, *I do not see how we can sustain even our small force of cavalry around Richmond.* I have had this morning to send General William H. F. Lee's division back to Stony Creek, whence I had called it in the last few days, because I cannot provide it with forage. I regret to have to report these difficulties, but think you ought to be apprised of them in order if there is any remedy it should be applied. I have the honor to be, your obedient servant. R. E. LEE, General." War Records, Vol. 46, Part III. p. 1319.

It was about this time that the desertions were reported to be excessively large, as many as 678 from Longstreet's Corps within nine days. [*Ibid.* p. 1332.]

(b.) General Lee wrote General Early on March 27 that "from reports received Sheridan is now *probably* on Grant's left." [War Rec. *Ibid.* p. 1358] "I desire, if possible, to collect cavalry here sufficient to resist his and Gregg's (i. e. Crook's) combined force." But it was then too late, as events proved. Sheridan and Grant lost no time in progressing their plans. Lee's plans were yet unfixed; and on March 27, 1865, it was suggested to General Lee by General Longstreet that "instead of stripping our flank of cavalry it would be better to send an efficient cavalry

force with Pickett's division and two or three batteries to watch Sheridan and keep him off our railroad, or to re-enforce General Johnston in case Sheridan goes to North Carolina to re-enforce Sherman. I believe that our cavalry, supported by the infantry, will be more effective against the enemy's raiders than our cavalry alone. I believe that such a force, in proper hands, will be able to frustrate object of enemy, as nearly all of his horses must be somewhat exhausted. J. LONGSTREET. Lieutenant General." [*Ibid.* 1857.]

The next day, 28th March, 1865, this officer in response to General Lee sent him the following dispatch:

"Headquarters, First Army Corps, March 28, 1865. General R. E. Lee, Commanding, sc.: Your telegram asking if we can spare General Pickett's division as a supporting force to our cavalry is received. I suggested that it should be sent on that service because I was apprehensive that our railroad would be in danger of being broken up behind us, leaving us without supplies sufficient to hold Richmond until our communication South could be re-established; or in case Sheridan went to North Carolina, his mounted force would be too formidable for that of General Johnston's, and that General Johnston's army would be in great danger if we should not re-enforce him. I do not think that we can well spare the division, but I think that we would choose a lesser risk by sparing it if Sheridan's cavalry makes either of these moves contemplated than we would by holding him here to await the result of these operations.

The enemy seems now to count upon taking Richmond by raiding upon our lines of communication and not by attacking our lines of work. I think, therefore, that we should endeavor to put a force in the field that can contend against that of the enemy. If Grant sends off his cavalry he can hardly intend to make any general move of his main army until its return. In every aspect of affairs, so far as I am advised, I think that the greater danger is from keeping too close within our trenches.

If we can remain where we are independently of the railroad, and if General Johnston would be safe

with such a force operating against him in addition to Sherman's, we had better keep the division here. [They were not kept "here" but were transferred to the extreme right of Lee's army, and supported his cavalry in the battles of 31st March around Dinwiddie Court-House and April 1 at Five Forks. See Lee's dispatch to the Secretary of War of April 1, elsewhere quoted.] You know much more about all those points than I do and are much better able to decide upon them.

J. LONGSTREET, *Lieutenant-General.*"

(Same Volume, page 1360.)

CHAPTER II.*

Friday, March 31st, developed Union advantages from the storm.—How Grant commanded his own and Lee's army.—The Fifth Corps has a curious encounter, but recovers and gains its point.—Sheridan fails to secure Five Forks.—His Brigades fight all day a series of separate battles.—Enemy mystified but developed.—The "War Horse" General Thomas C. Devin.—His narrow escape.—The First Maine Cavalry and its "seven shooters."—Saving the horses.—A masterly retreat.—Sheridan wanted everything to "go in," would not admit defeat.—Battle of Dinwiddie covered many square miles.—Communication with the fighting regiments often impossible.—An aide rode into the backs of rebel infantry.—Sheridan attacked it, and thus protected the flank of the army.—The countercharges at sunset.—Fighting to music.—The rail barricade.—The new short line.—Sheridan rides it.—The quicksands unhorse the Custer troopers.—Welcome darkness.—Sheridan to Grant and the response.—A vigilant night.—Lee's golden opportunity.—The last military advantage of his life.—His omissions.—The order to Warren commanding the Fifth Corps.—The Battle of Dinwiddie summed up.

FRIDAY morning, March 31, dawned with weather no more promising. Sheridan and Crook had again passed a night at their headquarters in the old Dinwiddie tavern. Custer with his whole force was still at work extricating and pushing forward the necessary trains while the remainder of the cavalry

* See note at end of Chapter III,

corps under Devin, was disposed in a threatening attitude toward the enemy who were defending the Southside railroad. Crook maintained the communication with the infantry of the army, and watched the country to the left and west of the Court-House.

The scouts this morning confirmed the news of the whereabouts of that main part of the rebel cavalry who before the opening of the campaign were encamped near Stony Creek Station, on the Petersburg & Weldon railroad. Stony creek is a tributary of the Notaway river, and runs in a southeasterly direction through Dinwiddie county. Stony creek is a deep and swift stream, at most seasons of the year hardly fordable for horsemen. The railroad bridge across it had been destroyed by the Union troops during the winter, but the station at that point had been re-occupied by the rebels and used as a depot for supplies, whence they were wagoned around the lines of the Union army, and by the Boydtown plank-road to Petersburg. Along this route, too, was the main telegraph and mail communication to Weldon and other important points south. It was at this convenient location that Lee had established his principal cavalry camps, which at the same time served as a strong corps of obser-

vation against any expedition of Union troops toward North Carolina. A movement of this character was, indeed, every day becoming more likely, as Sherman was daily advancing northward.

The sudden movement of Grant's armies to the west, with the stormy weather, which, while a serious cause of delay in other respects, had swollen these streams in the rear, had prevented the annoyance of reconnoitering parties from this force of the enemy, and had completely severed this cavalry at Stony creek from Lee.

To rejoin or communicate with him, therefore, a long detour was necessary to the west of Dinwiddie Court-House, occupying, with the condition of the roads at this time, more than a day's march.

Of this campaign it has been aptly remarked that Grant commanded his own and Lee's army. It appears then, that the performance of this tedious and uninteresting march was the duty assigned by Grant as the most convenient employment for the rebel cavalry while his own dispositions were being completed. This force, however, did not consist of more than a division, so much cavalry some time previously having been sent by Lee to harass the march of Sherman in North

Carolina. But by Friday morning this command had arrived along Chamberlain's creek, a small run west of the Court-House, tributary to Stony creek, and in a position to co-operate with the enemy in the vicinity of Five Forks.

Early Friday morning, also, Warren's corps moved to concentrate near a locality known as Butler's house on the plank road, not far from its intersection by the Quaker road, which latter highway leads direct to the White Oak road and thence to the coveted Southside or Lynchburg & Petersburg railroad. The heavy storm which had been annoying our army seemed to have spent its force, and during the forenoon the sun essayed its assistance in our behalf and shone quite pleasantly.

The Fifth corps under Warren, with Ayres's division leading, were by ten o'clock ready to advance, and moved to dislodge the enemy and to gain the White Oak road already mentioned. If successful in this endeavor, the enemy at Five Forks and in front of Sheridan, in order to maintain his communication and co-operation with the forces about Petersburg, would have been compelled to withdraw at least to the north side of Hatcher's Run—which is here a narrow,

crooked stream with rugged and densely wooded banks. This was emphatically what is termed in military parlance a "difficult country." After making their way through marshy pines and thick forests, over swampy ditches or across uncertain quicksands, the lines of the infantry pushed forward with some skirmishing, and found the rebels well posted before the desired road was reached.

Here, now, was likely to be a battle; but how much of a one was ever fought will probably never be known, unless described by some one of its actual participants. The enemy's warm reception broke our advance, and it gave way in confusion. Taking instant advantage of this, away dashed the enemy from his field-works with an exhibition of that old *esprit*, which in times gone by—as at Malvern Hill—had flung its impetuous battalions before our lines. But now they were successful and swept everything before them. Our men found themselves retracing their steps with greater alacrity than convenience.

Ayres fell back on Crawford, and his division in turn on Griffin. Even before some of the troops had yet moved to perform the part assigned to them in the day's operations, and while they still rested in bivouac, the

rebels interfered with their domestic comforts. As though wanting breath for further pursuit or astonished at their success, after driving the Fifth corps back to the Boydtown plank road, the pursuit was discontinued. The scenes of this morning are related as disgraceful. There was little artillery used and after the first few volleys of attack, there was one impetuous retreat to the music of a pattering skirmish fire, with now and then a round of musketry as its only redeeming feature. As remarked by general officers high in command at the time, the troops seemed to be lost to all sense of influence and authority of their officers.

The causes of this unfortunate affair must be sought for among those of the inexplicable panics which sometimes seize and control large bodies of men, and of which in this as in other wars there are in the history of both armies examples for the study of the philosopher.

Great anxiety would now be cast over the operations of the Army; but General Humphreys, who was commanding the Second corps on the immediate right of the Fifth on learning the position of affairs sent Miles's division to attack the enemy in flank. Scarcely then had the pursuit ceased before this was

vigorously undertaken, and the rebels in their turn were driven back again to the woods.

The Fifth corps, too, were soon again rallied and advanced, Griffin's division this time leading. The ground lost in the morning was re-occupied; the works, where the enemy in force was first encountered, were most gallantly charged and captured; and one of the objects of the day's operations was accomplished by the occupation of a position on the White Oak road.

Meanwhile, however, with a quick appreciation of their temporary advantage over the Fifth corps the rebels had turned their attention to Sheridan, and with a strong force of light infantry under Pickett attempted to discover an assailable point on his lines, if the spider-legged position of the cavalry corps at this point, with detachments, patrols, guards and picket posts in every direction, with propriety can be said to have formed a "line."

During the morning General Devin's division was moved forward in order to obtain possession of Five Forks. Davies's brigade, too, of Crook's division had been sent to his support, and posted to the west of the road leading from Dinwiddie to Five Forks, in order to defend the fords over Chamberlain's creek. The remainder of Crook's division

watched the crossings of this and Stony creek further to the south and west. General Gibbs's brigade remained on the main road about two miles from the Court-House, while Devin with his remaining two brigades under Stagg and Fitzhugh pushed on to Five Forks.

General Thomas C. Devin is most emphatically a self-made man. Before the war he was quite prominently connected with the militia in New York, and he entered the service as colonel at the head of the Sixth regiment New York volunteer cavalry. His command was long known in the Army of the Potomac as one of the few cavalry regiments which in the earlier campaigns of that Army, could be deemed thoroughly reliable. It was held in the highest esteem by the late General John Buford, between whom and General Devin there grew up a strong mutual respect and attachment. While under General Buford's command Devin was frequently recommended for promotion, but the unfortunate death of the former—than whom no cavalry general ever associated with the Army of the Potomac was ever held in higher estimation—prevented the subject from being pressed at an opportune moment. Devin continued as colonel to command a brigade of cavalry until near the expiration of his first

three years' term of service, when he was ordered home with his regiment on "veteran furlough." He had been constantly in the field, and had rendered most valuable services in many campaigns, as the official reports record; but his native modesty served to make him probably less known in the Union Army than to the rebels against whom he so frequently fought. Although having served with the same rank for three years, with a true patriotism he re-enlisted with his regiment for the war. He attracted the notice of Sheridan early in the first Virginia campaigns of that officer, and after the battle of Winchester he was deputed to bear to the War Department some trophies of the victory.

Shortly after presenting the captured colors he received his first promotion in an appointment as brevet brigadier-general, the Secretary of War taking pains at the same time to express his regret that there was not just then a vacancy of a full brigadiership to which he might be appointed. Not long afterward, however, he received the appointment, and at the close of the last campaign was brevetted major-general.

His blunt soldiership, sound judgment, his prompt and skilful dispositions for battle, his long period of active service, his bulldog

tenacity, and his habitual reliability fully entitled him to the sobriquet among his officers and soldiers as the old "war horse," "Sheridan's hard hitter," and the like.

General Devin found the force opposing him near Five Forks to consist of infantry as well as cavalry. With some dismounted regiments our men slowly forced their way over the broken country adjoining the road, though not without some loss, until they reached the cross-roads. But he was not allowed to remain there undisturbed.

The rebels moved south along Chamberlain's creek in southerly direction, and seemed desirous of crossing and thus to turn our left. They attempted it in front of Davies's brigade; but as he had a gallant regiment in front of them armed with "seven-shooters" this effort was at first unsuccessful. Now their cavalry tried to force a crossing in front of Smith's brigade, posted lower down the stream. But this resultless skirmishing did not suit some of our high-spirited troopers. Those in this portion of the field belonged to the Second Cavalry division, which was not detached with other cavalry from the Army of the Potomac to serve in the valley of the Shenandoah with Sheridan; and after the glorious conquests of their comrades

in this beautiful country, the reunion of the commands at this time produced a generous rivalry which was highly inspiring. Here an opportunity for a handsome "dash" presented itself. Certainly the enemy could not have infantry so distant from their main lines at Petersburg, and so liable to be completely cut off from communication therewith at any time by our cavalry; and should they have only cavalry in front of us what do we care for that? So thought some gallant fellows who sought and obtained authority to cross and attack. A battalion of the Second New York Mounted Rifles under Major Chadbourne (of the First Maine Cavalry), boldly forded the creek in the face of the rebel skirmishers, scattering or capturing them; and charging vigorously up the road thought theirs an easy victory; when lo! the little band came upon a "hornet's nest." The woods about them were alive with rebel infantry who considered them a sure and easy capture. Major Chadbourne was seriously wounded and with others fell into the hands of the enemy; but the remainder cut their way back again with the important information gained by the exploit, while the rebel cavalry rallied and in their turn now followed our men in pursuit. They were allowed to

cross, and when fairly over were very seriously handled, losing Colonel Savage and other leading officers and many men, and were driven back again in great confusion.*

By this time the rebel infantry in front of the Fifth corps were moving in strong force through Five Forks and toward the left of Sheridan's lines. Again the crossing where Davies was posted was vigorously attacked and as stoutly defended. But the stream was fordable and soon both above and below him on the right and on the left of his line, this

* [NOTE.—General Tremain is in error when he speaks of a battalion of the Second New York Mounted Rifles; the battalion was not of that regiment, but was from the First Maine Cavalry and under the command of Captain John D. Myrick. Major Chadbourne was in command of the Second New York Mounted Rifles by special detail, and was stationed in the woods on the right of the road leading to the ford. He was wounded but not captured. The determining charge of that morning in which the Rebs were severely handled was made by the remaining two battalions of the First Maine Cavalry. This charge was seen by Colonel Newhall of Sheridan's Staff. General Tremain also states the sequence of attacks along Chamberlain's Bed in different order than that given in General Sheridan's Official Report which will appear a few pages in advance.—*Ed. Maine Bugle.*] * * *

gallant officer found the rebel infantry pouring across the creek.

Meanwhile Devin had been obliged to retire from his advanced position on the White Oak road, and was assuming a line to protect himself as well as the right flank of Davies. Devin, too, now found rebels on three sides of him. Which way should he face? On what plan was he required to fight? His orders did not cover the present emergency and his military education induced him always to fight unless positive instructions contemplated otherwise.

Having only at that point the two brigades of Fitzhugh and Stagg, Devin posted them across the main road from Dinwiddie to Five Forks, and assumed a line from Gravelly Run on the right to Davies's brigade on the left, giving orders to hold these positions, and sending his last unoccupied staff officer to inform General Merritt or General Sheridan of the state of affairs. Devin himself, now accompanied by only one orderly, galloped down the main road after his other brigade under General Gibbs which had been left in the rear as a reserve. Pistt, pistt, pistt, greeted his ears as he rode hastily by and heeded not the deadly "miniès."

Soon, however, a stern voice directly in

front commanded "Halt, thar; surrender, you d—— Yankee ——!" not addressing him by his official title. But the veteran "war horse" was not yet ready to surrender. Quickly wheeling his horse he spurred beyond the temporary jurisdiction of his rebellious countryman, regardless of the harmless bullets which followed him, and returned to the immediate direction of the troops he had just posted. It must have been a delightful reflection to appreciate that every avenue of communication between the main army and his little band of troops was occupied in force by rebel infantry. Is it a wonder that many men become prematurely gray in war?

Davies with his regiments dismounted, had made a gallant stand against overwhelming numbers; but had been obliged to give way, and he was now retiring by the right flank, and approaching Devin's command. An aide had succeeded in conveying orders to General Devin to move all the detached force then with him across the country to the plank road by which he should march to Dinwiddie, and assist the cavalry there engaged. This was indeed the only movement left for these troops, and orders for its execution were being anticipated by their commanders. Yet it was by no means an easy task slowly and

orderly to withdraw from the immediate front of a successful enemy, well disciplined and equipped—for indeed these troops were the flower of Lee's army—a dismounted cavalry force out of ammunition, wearied from several hours' severe fighting, shaken in the loss of officers, and encumbered in a thick and broken country with an unwieldy crowd of "led horses."

It may be interesting to unmilitary readers to say that these "led horses" form a most important feature in our cavalry warfare. When a command is obliged to dismount, which frequently occurs in wooded country, every fourth man remains mounted to care for four horses. Under a subordinate officer the horses are then located in an open field, if possible, sheltered from the fire and observation of the enemy, and where the animals will be liable to no sudden panic. Of course with any considerable change in the relative positions of the troops these horses must be moved to correspond, an operation often extremely hazardous. So on this memorable day to maneuver these masses of led horses for miles across a thickly wooded country without any defined roads, was no inconsiderable task. Did you ever ride one horse and at the same time lead two or per-

haps three others? Try it in a grove of young trees; imagine an enemy in close pursuit, when, consequently, you are rather hurried, you may feel well assured that if two of the animals go with you to the left of a tree, the other two will inevitably choose the opposite side. Under these circumstances is it not quite likely that you would feel some solicitude and perhaps yield to profanity? Perhaps not. Yet I do opine that this was one of the chief causes which has led to the reputation of cavalymen expressed in the popular belief that the highest perfection of profane accomplishment is "to swear like a trooper." Well! on this day horses and trees were seriously intermingled. Moreover the saddles were filled with blankets, overcoats, rations, sabers, forage, "nicknacks," and all the paraphernalia appertaining to a campaigner; while the uncertain paths were occasionally obstructed by rail fences. These were among the impedimenta. But in the lines of rebel soldiers who maintained a continual fire, and whom our dismounted men were endeavoring to keep at a respectful distance, there were strong powers of acceleration.

The results of the retreat were various—depending in many instances on the temper and disposition of the "fourth man" who

led the horses, as well as on the judgment of officers; but on the whole highly creditable to all concerned. Few horses not shot, were lost, and the enemy gained no very material advantage in the pursuit. On the contrary, the rebels seemed much perplexed by the stubbornness and fertility of resource displayed by the three brigades of Davies, Fitzhugh and Stagg, which toward evening reached the plank road in tolerably good order. Ere this, however, the enemy had desisted from the pursuit for reasons about to be mentioned.

These operations were by no means the chief among those of the battle of Dinwiddie. Indeed this scene was distant from the Court-House itself. A few weeks previously, too, a skirmish did take place directly at the Court-House, while the present conflict occurred chiefly about the country to the north and west of the village proper. Hence, for the sake of history, this engagement should be distinguished as the battle of Dinwiddie.

Meanwhile Crook and Custer were not idle. Custer was improving the good weather, and worked vigorously at moving up the troublesome trains. In the course of the afternoon's engagement he was ordered to leave one brigade to attend to the wagons, while with the

two others he should repair to the scene of action.

Crook had early in the afternoon drawn Gregg's brigade away from the village toward the field. Smith's brigade, which, it will be remembered, was posted to the west to check the enemy from crossing Chamberlain's bed, found itself constantly engaged with rebel cavalry attempting to make the ford. The main portion of the enemy's cavalry appeared to be here, and obstinately persistent in their desire to cross. With hastily constructed defenses on the banks of the creek, Smith as obstinately opposed them. He had a good position on a wooded crest. His right, however, necessarily remained rather exposed, inviting attack, should the rebels succeed in crossing by some of the more fordable localities above his front. This, as we have seen, their infantry finally accomplished, compelling Davies, and in turn Devin also, to retire*.

*[Note.—The following extract from Tobie's history of the First Maine Cavalry will shed some light on the work on Smith's line. "Thus our brigade was isolated, on the extreme left of a line, with no connection on its right and none in its rear, till Custer came up from the wagon train. During all the time necessary to effect this, we bore back with our carbines and pistols the larger part of the rebel cavalry re-enforced by Pickett's infantry. In the morning

This stream was along here one or two miles from the main road to Dinwiddie, which important highway was secure to us only so long as the enemy did not cross the creek. Sheridan had just left Devin comparatively quiet, and rode down to see what Crook was doing. While here an officer, Major Charles Treichel from Davies, reported to him that a large force of the enemy had crossed both above and below the lines of his brigade. Sheridan inquired of him if they were infantry, to which the officer replied in the affirmative. But the little general doubted, and vigorously directed the aide to go back and to say that the crossing must be held, adding quite as earnestly, "I don't want any d—d squadron fighting, everything must go in." But everything by this time had been "in," and a few moments later another officer in attempting to communicate with the same troops unexpectedly encountered the rear of a rebel line of battle. On learning of this Sheridan was all energy and fire.

Gregg's and Gibbs's brigades were quickly ordered to follow the same path, and to charge

we had fallen on their advancing and exultant lines like an avalanche, and in the evening we had stood like a rock in the pathway, immovable, while all on our right had been rolled away like a garment."]

the rebel rear; and away they rode to seek it. The country was hilly and wooded, not favorable to a cavalry charge; but the rebels were soon found, and their attention diverted from the further pursuit of Devin in his movement toward the Boydtown plank road. Thus annoyed, the enemy faced about, and were deterred from a movement which, had it been long continued, would have seriously endangered the main lines of the army (or, as Sheridan expresses it, "taken in flank and rear the infantry line of the Army of the Potomac").

Now occurred another hardly-contested fight. The forces against Sheridan comprised the best infantry division (Pickett's) of Lee's army, Wise's independent brigade of infantry, and Fitzhugh Lee's, Rosser's, and W. H. F. Lee's cavalry commands; while in the immediate front of this formidable array the Union forces now mustered but three small brigades one of which—Smith's—had been engaged for several hours.

It was quite late in the afternoon; the sun was shining pleasantly, and the field of battle was now in an open country, favorable to observation, but filled with treacherous quicksands.

To the careless observer the surfaces of such

localities, so common in Virginia, bear no peculiar marks of distinction from the ground about them; but woe to the horseman who unwittingly ventures. Many an eager courier was unhorsed and half buried by these hidden enemies. Appreciating the unfavorable character of the ground for mounted operations and the strength of the opposing forces, as well as the importance of holding Dinwiddie, where so many roads converged, officers examined their watches with impatient anxiety to determine how many hours of daylight might remain for this unequal contest. It was hoped that by skilful maneuvering Sheridan might hold out until dark, when fighting would cease and new dispositions be made for the morrow's work. No other course could now be attempted.

Accordingly every nerve was strained; all was life, activity, and industry. Sheridan seemed to have infused his own indomitable spirit among his subordinates. New lines across the main road were quickly established, where the troops on retiring were ordered to halt, and a slight barricade of rails was speedily constructed for its defense by Sheridan's own escort, under the personal direction of Colonel Forsyth of Sheridan's staff. Here the troops were ordered to rally, and here

Smith's gallant but exhausted brigade was directed to retire when the brigade could no longer be of service in the defense of Chamberlain's crossing.

If the enemy could not be conquered to-day at least he must be overawed. A few pieces of artillery, which, on account of the character of the country, could not have been used before, were now brought effectively into action. Every band in the command had already been eligibly posted and instructed to sound their inspiring strains until further orders. While one attempted "Hail Columbia" another accompanied the artillery with "Lanigan's Ball," and the third essayed variations on the theme "Johnny fill up the Bowl," with "Yankee Doodle" as a *grande finale*. These selections were not quite so monotonous as those of one faithful band who, without stopping to recover breath, again and again repeated "Hail to the Chief," until the proximity of advancing rebels and the wounding of the "E flat" warned the musicians to retire. Now these strains were not of that high professional order emulated by Maretzek at the Academy, or Dodworth at Central Park, yet I doubt if either was ever so felicitous. The music animated and inspired the troops. It doubtless awed the

enemy, and during this part of the day was certainly one of the chief features of the battle; while the clamor and display of this afternoon's fight have subjected it to an unfortunate comparison with an episode in Chinese warfare.

The rattle of musketry in front of the sharp ring of our carbines, accompanied with a lively tenor the booming notes of the artillery, and the "spirit-stirring" bands added a wholesome zest to the exciting whist! whist! of the flying *minié*.

The new line of light breastworks was soon completed and occupied by our fatigued and resolute troops. Their ammunition was well-nigh exhausted and a fresh supply had not yet arrived. Custer's headquarters flag however, now appeared on the field, and his troops were following. The setting sun gilded the fringe of the lofty forest trees, whose long, peaceful shadows seemed to mock the wicked scenes of strife, while in those lingering rays, as they shone on this irregular and unequal combat, there was a silent influence, imparting renewed vigor and buoyant spirits to the gallant defenders of the Union.

The enemy do not press with energy. He has thus far gained no permanent advantage;

Dinwiddie can be held. The moment is opportune and must not be lost—so Sheridan thinks, as he gathers up the reins resting on the neck of his favorite black horse, the same trusty steed made famous by that “Ride to Winchester.”

The general hands his field-glass to an orderly, and, as a fresh force of the enemy appears, he dashes wildly across the fields, his staff and color-bearer following. The treacherous ground unhorses some of the party, yet Sheridan's animal is true, and bears his rider safely along the enthusiastic lines. He waves his hat and returns the sturdy cheers of the soldiers, while the bands more fiercely than ever blast discordant tunes. The rounds are quickly finished. Every soldier has seen his general and every regiment is reinforced by a new battalion of confidence. But there is no time to be lost.

At this moment Custer's troops (two brigades under Colonels Pennington and Capehart) file into the fields. The enemy, too, have made new dispositions, and in front of Lord's battery there emerges from the woods a handsome and imposing line of battle. Skirmishers precede it and fire a few scattering shots, which our carbineers return. On,

on it advances, a long, single, unsupported line of infantry sweeping over the undulating plain and scarcely deigning a reply to the warning compliments from our artillery. It approaches almost to the very mouths of our guns! Can our exhausted carbineers and gunners long compete with well-organized bodies of musketry from fresh infantry battalions?

Custer's men are trotting to the front and forming, and as he himself dashes from the side of Sheridan to execute the orders for a charge, he is called back again. "General! General!" is repeated in a tone still louder and with unmistakable authority. "You understand?" says Sheridan; "I want you to *give* it to them." Custer, as though impatient at an unnecessary delay, hurriedly replies, "Yes, yes, I'll give it to them;" and with his broad-brimmed hat, red necktie, and flaxen, boyish curls, he spurs away to lead the closing charge.

The ground was yet new to him, and as his squadrons formed with great difficulty on an uncertain quicksand, it was hardly possible to believe that the entire field before him was of the same treacherous mire. Away then for the charge and scatter those audacious rebel bayonets with the hardy stroke of saber. It

was a failure. There was no charge. Gallantry and valor availed naught. Riders were dismounted, horses plunged, and squadrons floundered in the soft, treacherous soil over which they would gallop.

Some prudent and better-informed subordinate, foreseeing this emergency, had prepared a dismounted battalion to meet the advancing rebels, and they were yet held at bay. Custer withdrew his troopers and quickly disposed them to fight on foot. The enemy soon desisted from further aggression, and night only closed the laborious and unequal contest.

Sheridan in his memoirs, written many years after these notes, thus refers to his short ride along the lines, and the close of this battle :

“Accompanied by Generals Merritt and Custer and my staff, I now rode along the barricades to encourage the men. Our enthusiastic reception showed that they were determined to stay. The cavalcade drew the enemy's fire, which emptied several of the saddles—among others Mr. Theodore Wilson, correspondent of the *New York Herald*, being wounded. In reply our horse artillery opened on the advancing Confederates, but the men behind the barricades lay still till Pickett's troops were within short range.

Then they opened, Custer's repeating rifles pouring out such a shower of lead that nothing could stand up against it. The repulse was very quick, and as the gray lines retired to the woods from which but a few moments before they had so confidently advanced, all danger of their taking Dinwiddie or marching to the left and rear of our infantry line was over, at least for the night."

The fighting to-day had been entirely dismounted, and darkness found the horses of the different regiments in considerable confusion. The woods in the rear were filled with stray pack-mules and contrabands, while every open space was crowded with an almost immovable mass of "led horses." Davies and Devin had marched without further incident by the Boydtown plank road as ordered, and shortly after dark rejoined the remainder of the troops near Dinwiddie.

While the different commands which had become more or less scattered were being collected, as well as the darkness would permit, Sheridan returned to the old tavern where he had already spent two nights, and in a despatch to General Grant thus briefly summed up the results of the day's operations:

“CAVALRY HEADQUARTERS,
DINWIDDIE COURT HOUSE,
March 31, 1865.

“*Lieutenant-General Grant commanding
Armies United States:*

“The enemy’s cavalry attacked me about ten o’clock to-day on the road coming in from the west and a little north of Dinwiddie Court-House. This attack was very handsomely repulsed by General Smith’s brigade of Crook’s division, and the enemy was driven across Chamberlain’s Creek. Shortly afterward the enemy’s infantry attacked on the same creek in heavy force, and drove in General Davies’s brigade, and, advancing rapidly, gained the forks of the road at J. Boisseau’s. This forced Devin, who was in advance, and Davies to cross to the Boydtown road. General Gregg’s brigade and General Gibb’s brigade, who had been toward Dinwiddie, then attacked the enemy in the rear very handsomely. This stopped the march toward the left of our infantry, and finally caused them to turn toward Dinwiddie and attack us in heavy force. The enemy then again attacked at Chamberlain’s creek and forced Smith’s position. At this time Capehart’s and Pennington’s brigades of Custer’s division came up, and a very handsome fight occurred.

"The enemy have gained some ground, but we still hold in front of Dinwiddie, and Davies and Devin are coming down the Boyd-town road to join us.

"The opposing force was Pickett's division, Wise's independent brigade of infantry, and Fitzhugh Lee's, Rosser's, and W. H. Lee's cavalry commands.

"The men have behaved splendidly. Our loss in killed and wounded will probably number four hundred and fifty men; very few were lost as prisoners.

"We have of the enemy a number of prisoners.

"This force is too strong for us. I will hold out to Dinwiddie Court-House until I am compelled to leave.

"Our fighting to-day was all dismounted.

"P. H. SHERIDAN,

"Major-General."

Thus closed the battle of Dinwiddie and the third day of this wonderful campaign. Unless it was the lodgment effected on the White Oak road by a portion of the Fifth corps, the day cannot be said to have ended with any material advantage to the Union troops. Yet its results were hopeful. [As Sheridan explains in his memoirs: "By fol-

lowing me to Dinwiddie the enemy's infantry had completely isolated itself, and hence there was now offered the Union troops a rare opportunity."]

The enemy's forces were skilfully handled and swiftly maneuvered. When met by our cavalry, disparity of numbers should have gained some more decided result. But the "Confederates" appeared to lack their old *élan* of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness. Except when their cavalry attempted a mounted charge, their spirits seemed to have departed. Energetic, close attack and pursuit near Dinwiddie by the formidable array on the field at the close of the day's action, would have scattered the defiant troopers of Sheridan in every direction and doubtless given the enemy the possession of the little village at the Court-House and the important roads there converging.

The rebels contented themselves with resting for the night so near to our lines that the conversation of their pickets was plainly audible to our artillerists.

Doubtless the enemy hoped on the morrow to reap the fruits of a decisive victory; and should no new dispositions be made, there was every earnest of their success. But their golden opportunity was gone. Had Lee been

apprised of the real condition of affairs on the extreme left of Grant's line along Sheridan's front just before dark, he might have hurled five thousand effective infantry against the same number of scattered, exhausted, and retreating cavalry, with ammunition expended, and encumbered with horses, perfectly useless as they were led through thick woods or across the swampy fields. He would have fallen on the trains, turned the flank of Grant's lines, been ready the next morning to attack the rear of the Fifth and Second corps as they faced an enemy along Hatcher's run, and perhaps so far succeeded in the campaign as to compel General Grant to retire again temporarily to his old works.

The original scheme of operations for the cavalry under Sheridan, when it first marched from camp on the 29th of March, contemplated a raid on the Southside and other railroads converging at Burkesville, with a march thereafter toward Sherman in North Carolina, or in case this might not be deemed advisable such subsequent movements as Sheridan's best discretion might indicate. The temporary repulse of the battle of Dinwiddie completely frustrated any part of these plans, and there is the highest authority for believing that when the news was first

learned by General Grant the original orders were so far countermanded as to determine upon a return of the troops for the present to their old camps about Petersburg. The subsequent reports of Sheridan and others, however, quickly changed this scheme, and with perfect confidence in the latter's ability to hold his own and to take care of himself, the orders for a retreat were almost instantly countermanded. So that, in reality they only reached a few of the most prominent generals. Thus was the campaign quickly changed from what would have been a temporary failure to a success as complete as any in the history of war. Heedless of a first repulse, obstinacy and perseverance transformed it into a victory. Another instance, too, of the remarkable adaptability of the lieutenant-general to every emergency of the hour.

The night was not spent in idleness. An army may have rest yet not suffer for vigilance. Sheridan was aroused early in the night by the reception of an answer to his despatch to General Grant already quoted, and as he read saw an exhibition of the same dauntless, persevering, and successful spirit, which on that memorable occasion at Fort Donelson informed the rebel general, "I propose to move immediately upon your works."

DARNEY MILLS,
March 31. 1865,
10:05 P.M.

Major-General Sheridan:

The Fifth corps has been ordered to your support. Two divisions will go by J. Boisseau's, and one down the Boydtown road. In addition to this I have sent McKenzie's cavalry, which will reach you by the Vaughan road.

All these forces, except the cavalry should reach you by twelve to-night.

You will assume command of the whole force sent to operate with you, and use it to the best of your ability to destroy the force which your command has fought so gallantly to-day.

U. S. GRANT.
Lieutenant-General.

By a glance at the map it will be seen that the house of J. Boisseau here mentioned, was near the main Five Forks road, and a force of infantry there would very likely prove of serious inconvenience to any rebels who might be on the same road further south. In pursuance of General Grant's instructions the probable arrival of two divisions of the Fifth corps at this point during the night

promised the satisfactory results so succinctly pointed out in the following letter of instructions to General Warren :

CAVALRY HEADQUARTERS,
DINWIDDIE COURT HOUSE,
April 1, 1865, 8 A.M.

*To Major-General Warren, Commanding
Fifth Army Corps:*

I am holding in front of Dinwiddie Court-House on the road leading to Five Forks, for three-quarters of a mile, with General Custer's division. The enemy are in his immediate front, lying so as to cover the road just this side of A. Adam's house, which leads out across Chamberlain's bed or run. I understand you have a division at J. Boisseau's; if so, you are in rear of the enemy's line, and almost on his flanks. I will hold on here. Possibly they may attack Custer at daylight; if so, attack instantly and in full force. *Attack at daylight anyhow*, and I will make an effort to get the road this side of Adam's house, and if I do you can capture the whole of them. Any force moving down the road I am holding, or on the White Oak road, will be in the enemy's rear, and in all probability get any force that may escape you by a flank

attack. Do not fear my leaving here. If the enemy remains I shall *fight at daylight*.

P. H. SHERIDAN.

Major-General.

It now bids fair that the dawn of day in the execution of these orders would bring an attack on the enemy perfectly overwhelming.

The battle of Dinwiddie concluded the last military advantage ever enjoyed by the *soi-disant* "Confederacy." The closing scenes of its short-lived existence never presented another.*

* See note at end of Chapter III.

CHAPTER III.*

Saturday, April 1st, Sheridan moving towards Five Forks at daylight.—His disappointments.—Enemy in turn pursued.—The ambulances.—The concentration forced upon the enemy.—His position.—Five Forks described.—Sheridan's plan.—Win or die.—Grant orders him "to destroy the force" "so gallantly fought by you the day before."—The Fifth Corps at daylight not where expected.—Why?—The fighting at sunset.—The charges—the dispersion—the captures.—Loss of the Southside Railroad to the enemy.—A great victory.—Grant at once utilizes it.—Some dispatches.—Campaign map.

SHERIDAN moved at daylight the next morning (April 1). His men and horses had enjoyed refreshment, a few hours' rest; and supplies of ammunition had been received. Those troublesome wagons were at last accessible, and the wounded during the night had been taken some miles distant to the hospitals in the rear of the main Army.

Did you ever see a train of ambulances bearing from the battle-field its bleeding freight? You may have known the hardship of a lonely sick-room, in the garret of an unsympathizing boarding-house; or up endless flights of stairs you may have charitably sought the suffering traveler in the strange

* See note at end of Chapter III.

solitude of the crowded hotel. You may have bathed the wound or soothed the fever of your hero soldier as he lingers from day to day, or month to month in the dreary hospital. You may have worked with busy fingers on the thousand little useful nothings which tender woman knows will cheer the sick man's spirit. You may have toiled day and night in supplying sanitary commissions with the pouch of the good Samaritan. You may have knelt by the bedside of the dying warrior, joining in his silent prayers as you appeal to heaven for divine mercy and forgiveness. Your sympathies, labors and petitions, go not unheeded by. But turn your hearts to the maimed soldier as while the sounds of battle linger in his ears he is crowded into a jolting ambulance, and carted over the roughest roads, perhaps at night, fatigued from the loss of blood, exhausted from want of food and sleep, racking with the pain of hastily dressed wounds, not yet at the hospital, the grateful recipient of those touching evidences of relief and comfort provided by a generous people. Let him command every good impulse of your nature as he takes this cheerless, painful ride.

It is an episode of every battle. What wounded man does not shudder as he remem-

bers it? There are no kind friends to soothe him there. His anguish is his own. Who can tell how fast the thoughts of home comforts and loved ones rush over him. It may be that ere the end of the fearful journey his spirit has flown. The ambulance may have become the hearse. Oh! this is war; these are the afflictions which have just passed from us. God grant the bitter cup may not be drunk too often.

As the cavalry this morning moved again for the third time toward Five Forks, Devin led the right wing, skirmishing as he advanced over a part of the field of his conflict of the day previous, while Custer directed the left wing; the whole under Merritt. Crook, with Gregg's brigade, followed that portion of the enemy who retreated toward the west across Chamberlain's run.

The rebels in front of Sheridan had during the night become alarmed at their exposure to the operations of the Fifth corps on their flank and rear, and early dawn found them offering but a slight skirmishing resistance before the advance of the cavalry, and falling back slowly and steadily to their old position at the Five Forks. Those who crossed the run towards the west, consisting principally of cavalry, halted when across the

creek, and making a show of resistance they kept up a lively skirmish fire and continued work on their defenses to prevent our further pursuit. Crook's division was therefore left behind by Sheridan to look after this force, protect his left and rear, watch the trains, and with general directions to take advantage of any opportunities that might occur.

A peculiarity of this campaign was this discretion to division commanders given by General Grant in his preparatory orders before the troops left camp, and in which generals were especially instructed to press at once any advantage, however slight, that might be gained during the campaign. Should the enemy at any time give way, commanders were to seize the moment to strike a decisive blow. The previous history of the Army of the Potomac would seem to indicate that this cardinal military principle heretofore had not received the attention it deserved in the general instructions of its officers, and the excellent results of this authoritative exposition of the lieutenant-general may be traced in the daily history of his last campaign.

The Fifth corps did not arrive on the main Five Forks road, as anticipated, in time to prevent the enemy from using it as his line of

retreat toward the Southside railroad. Had they done so by daylight, there is little doubt that there would have been no battle at Five Forks that day, but that there would have been fought midway between that point and Dinwiddie Court-House a short and decisive contest that would have brought more glorious results much earlier in the day. Why the Fifth corps did not answer Sheridan's expectations in this respect has never yet been explained, and probably was one of the motives for inducing that officer later in the day to relieve from command its young and gallant general. As subsequent operations turned out this delinquency was quite immaterial, but it is nevertheless animadverted upon in these words in the official report of Sheridan: "Had General Warren moved according to the expectations of the lieutenant-general there would appear to have been but little chance for the escape of the enemy's infantry in front of Dinwiddie Court-House." Since his removal General Warren has published a card concerning it, but he is silent as to the operations now in question.

(Since these notes were written in 1865, the Warren Court of Inquiry has occurred, and a large quantity of literature and testimony has been published about the matter.)

The Fifth corps then was concentrated in the vicinity of J. Boisseau's house, and there awaited further developments. About this time General McKenzie, in command of what was called the cavalry division of the Army of the James, reported to General Sheridan with about 1000 effective men organized as a brigade. The immediate command of Devin's and Custer's divisions rested with General Merritt, under whose directions they now closely pressed the enemy. Twice their rear-guard attempted to make a stand behind some temporary defenses, but after a short struggle were each time compelled to retire, until finally they reached the old position at Five Forks.

That portion of the enemy who had crossed Chamberlain's bed also retired north to the same locality, closely followed, however, by General Gregg's brigade of Crook's division. This brigade was afterwards of considerable service reconnoitering and watching our flanks, but did not become seriously engaged during the day.

It was now evident that the rebels had concentrated quite a formidable force, and to dislodge them was no mean undertaking. Yet to our advantage they were beyond the reach of support from the remainder of Gen-

eral Lee's army, which, even were it not so, was now too much engaged with the long lines in its own immediate front to render any available assistance.

Their exact numbers it would be very difficult to state; probably 12,000 effective men would be a liberal estimate. The force comprised Pickett's division, two brigades of Bushrod Johnson's, besides cavalry under W. H. F. and Fitzhugh Lee.

Against this Sheridan had the Fifth corps with about 15,000, and the cavalry (without Crook's division) of nearly 5000 effective men.

If Five Forks were any place there might follow here a description of it. You would not unreasonably suspect a country cross-roads of an unpretending blacksmith shop, a convenient "store," a gloomy church, or at least a deserted shanty. But this charming illustration of Virginia enterprise boasts of nothing. It is emphatically a "Five Forks," and nothing else. The roads forking here lead, one to Dinwiddie Court-House toward the south; another to Petersburg on the East, called the White Oak road; another to Ford's station, on the Southside railroad; a fourth to a point on the railroad a little west of the station, and a fifth through the county in a

southwesterly direction. The principal of these roads are the White Oak and Ford's station roads, and it was along the one and across the other that the rebels had erected their breastworks. These, though still incomplete, were rather hurriedly constructed of pine logs, partially covered with earth. The rebel line of battle extended from one to two miles along the White Oak road, with the flanks thrown a little to the rear in an endeavor to cover the Ford's station road, the latter in case of defeat being their only safe line of retreat.

Merritt had shown his cavalry at all points of this line, but with this alone it was quite impossible for him to make any serious impression. The country here is very thickly wooded, a large portion of the actual battlefield being covered with a thick growth of pine. Toward the east of the lines the forest became more open, with here and there a partially cultivated field; while to the west was a house and rather a pretty farm, known as the Widow Gilliam's, situated near the road, and affording quite an open and available piece of country.

Sheridan's plan was soon determined. It is related of him that in speaking of this battle he has since remarked that before it

begun he had made up his mind to win it or die in the attempt. He had not asked for a corps to be sent him; he might have suggested a division of infantry. General Grant, however, said, "I will send him a corps," and with the forces now at his disposition he proceeded, in the words of the lieutenant-general in giving him instructions to "destroy the force which your command has fought so gallantly to-day."

Custer's division was to make serious demonstrations to the west, on the right of the rebels as if to turn their flank, while dismounted cavalry and a portion of the Fifth corps occupied their attention in front. The main body of this corps, however, was meanwhile ordered up from its position near the Boisseau house, and formed on our right under cover of the forest (near Gravelly Run church) facing the White Oak road, with Ayres's division on the left in double lines, Crawford's on the right. Griffin's division was held in reserve. By the time these dispositions were completed, which was not without severe skirmishing, the afternoon was well advanced. There was not much time to lose; the fight, if here at all, must be to-day. Night would doubtless change the relations of the contestants, and in all prob-

ability deprive our forces of the present opportunities for success. Should the enemy attack us, too, our advantage would be lost. We had no position for a defense. Sheridan was therefore naturally uneasy at the slightest delay. About this time, to prevent any attempt of the enemy to send reinforcements along the White Oak road, General McKenzie was directed to gain this road at once if possible; march down it and engage anything he might meet. The Fifth corps was now advanced as formed directly from Gravelly Run church to the White Oak, which it reached after tedious maneuvering in the heavy forest, and now found itself just beyond the extreme left flank of the enemy's works. The plan of the battle directed that while the cavalry were engaging the attention of the rebels in front and on their right flank where the opening of the Gilliam farm afforded such excellent opportunities for demonstrations, the infantry should envelop their extreme left flank and sweep down the rebel lines, while a simultaneous charge of all the cavalry should be made when the roar of musketry should indicate a heavy engagement of our infantry. The enemy were to be at once captured or destroyed. But the afternoon was well-nigh spent and the enemy

yet comparatively undisturbed. Sheridan rode over to hasten the movements of the Fifth corps, and directed it upon the rebel breastworks, the movement conforming to what may be termed a "left half-wheel," with Ayres's division as the pivot. But this faithful soldier had met the enemy directly in his front, and was becoming desperately engaged. The sharp cracks of the carbines mingled with the rattle of musketry, while pressing squadrons with drawn saber, sought an opportunity to ride over the foe. But the battle raged fiercest on the right. The roar of musketry, as it increased in volume in this direction, led some to suppose that Lee's reinforcements must have arrived from Petersburg. But now it was the Union muskets that added vigor to the battle. The enemy withdrew troops from other parts of the field to meet Ayres's attack. The troops of this corps had been unsuccessful in the previous contests of this campaign, and evidenced a lack of confidence. Some were rallied by Sheridan in person, and Ayres continued gallantly to hold his own, while Crawford, not yet meeting any enemy, pressed on, crossed the road, and moving down through comparatively open woods, soon found himself in the rebel rear, struck their ambulances,

captured some artillery, and threatened annihilation. The enemy still held out with vigor in front. It was here, as he led his earnest Zouave brigade against the works which Ayres must carry, fell the noble and chivalric Winthrop in the bloom of his career, and while victory only awaited its bloody price to rest majestically on his banners.

It was just previous to the cavalry charge that, affairs looking favorable in front of our cavalry, an officer of General Merritt's staff rode up to General Sheridan with, "General Merritt's compliments, sir; and he thinks now would be a good time to put the cavalry 'in.'" To this he received the characteristic, laconic reply: "Go in"; and the cavalry did "go in." There seemed to be no chance to charge, but charge they must. Custer, who it will be remembered, held our extreme left, was ordered to dismount his division and send them forward. He dismounted enough to comply with his orders, pressed them to the front, and sent two mounted brigades still further to the left to strike the enemy's rear. Every move on our part was successful. The rebel artillery for a short time played havoc among our brave assailants; but they were the guns of despair. The musketry on the right was for a while terrific, while the constant dashes

of our mounted and dismounted cavalry, added to the sound of skirmishing directly in the rebel rear, were increasing sources of demoralization and defeat. No troops could stand it long. Their lines were shaken; the red sunset glimmered through the forest as if to rebuke the fratricidal strife; and the vigorous cheers of Union battalions pursued a flying and defeated foe. Ayres, Crawford, and Griffin did not halt, but pressed close on the fugitives, and gathered hosts of prisoners; while Custer, who was never known to lose an opportunity, now charged his mounted squadrons. There was no escape; turn where they would, the flying rebels were confronted. All their dead, most of their wounded, and ambulances, guns, caissons, with nearly 6,000 prisoners, fell into our hands.

While the thick woods assisted their retreat and prevented greater captures, darkness only gave an end to the chase. It is a curious fact that so many small arms were the next day collected on this field that, for want of transportation, to prevent the possibility of their falling again into the hands of the enemy, the rebel muskets were actually used to corduroy several parts of the very bad roads in this vicinity.

The flower of Lee's army was fairly beaten.

Pickett's division as an organization, has never since been heard of, and to the end of the campaign its stragglers from this field were daily encountered. Some even sought their homes at once to lay down their arms for peace; and many a Confederate soldier did not hesitate to express his belief that further resistance to the Union armies would only be as sanguinary as it would be unavailing.

When you have rejoiced with me over this brilliant victory at Five Forks, when you have paid your homage to its living heroes, bedecked with flowers the graves of its dead, honored their names and embalmed their memory, perhaps you may pause a moment to regret that it was here the curtain fell over the bright military reputation of a young and promising general.

Speaking of the dispositions ordered for the attack, Sheridan says: "I then rode over to where the Fifth corps were going into position, and found them coming up very slowly. I was exceedingly anxious to attack at once, for the sun was getting low, and we had to fight or go back. It was no place to intrench, and it would have been shameful to have gone back with no means to compensate for the loss of the brave men who had fallen during

the day. In this connection I will say that General Warren did not exert himself to get his corps up as rapidly as he might have done, and his manner gave me the impression that he wished the sun to go down before the dispositions for the attack could be completed." Of the actual battle he again says: "During this attack I again became dissatisfied with General Warren. During the engagement portions of his line gave way when not exposed to a heavy fire, and simply for want of confidence on the part of the troops, which General Warren did not exert himself to inspire. I therefore relieved him from the command of the Fifth corps, authority for this action having been sent to me before the battle, unsolicited." It was during the closing scenes of the engagement, late in the afternoon, and while his battalions were in eager pursuit of the retreating enemy, that General Warren received this order relieving him from the command of the Fifth Army corps. It may have been sent some time before these circumstances occurred. General Griffin immediately succeeded him, and remained at its head during the campaign. (In reviewing the judgment of the Warren Court of Inquiry, General Sherman says that "General Sheridan was perfectly justified in his action in this case.")

This battle of Five Forks is justly regarded as the turning point in the campaign. Had the enemy won it, Petersburg and Richmond might have held out many days and probably weeks longer. When they lost it the Southside railroad was no longer useful to them, nor had they any line of retreat south of Appomattox for their forces at Petersburg.*

* A terse and comprehensive statement of Grant's Plan of Campaign from this point is the following:

"On Sunday, April 2d, when most of the defenses of Petersburg had been taken, and it became evident that it must fall, Lee advised the Confederate President that Richmond must be evacuated; whereupon the government hastily evacuated the Capitol, not staying even to remove the archives. The same night Lee ordered all his troops to concentrate at Amelia Court-House, on the Danville Railroad, south of the Appomattox, intending to effect a junction with Johnston and fall upon Sherman, who was still at Goldsboro, N. C. On learning this, Grant ordered Sheridan to place his cavalry on the south side of the Appomattox, *via* the Danville Railroad, as quickly as possible, and at the same time directed Meade to move to the same point the following morning. The Army of the James marched by the wagon road beside the Southside Railway, south of the Appomattox, as far as Burke's Station, where it intersects the Richmond and Danville Railroad and also crosses the Appomattox River."

[Extract from *Life of Grant* by James Grant Wilson (Published by D. Appleton and Company, 1897), page 274. See copy of a campaign map used by Grant's generals, *Ibid.* pp. 274-275; and reproduced in this book through the courtesy of General Wilson].

NOTE. The battles of Dinwiddie Court-House and of Five Forks were summarized, by General Lee at once in a dispatch to the Confederate Secretary of War, General Breckenridge, at Richmond as follows:

"Headquarters Army of Northern Virginia, April 1, 1865. Hon. Secretary of War, Richmond, Va. Sir: After my dispatch of last night (not found) I received a report from General Pickett, who, with three of his own brigades and two of General Johnston's, supported the cavalry under General Fitz Lee near Five Forks, on the road from Dinwiddie Court-House to the South Side road. After considerable difficulty and meeting resistance from the enemy at all points, General Pickett forced his way to within less than a mile of Dinwiddie Court-House. By this time it was too dark for further operations, and General Pickett resolved to return to Five Forks to protect his communication with the railroad. He inflicted considerable damage upon the enemy and took some prisoners. His own loss was severe, including a good many officers. General Terry had his horse killed by a shell and was disabled himself. General Fitz Lee's and Rosser's divisions were heavily engaged, but their loss was slight. General W. H. F. Lee lost many valuable officers. General Pickett did not retire from the vicinity of Dinwiddie Court-House until early this morning, when, his left flank being threatened by a heavy force, he withdrew [Sheridan had counted on the Fifth Corps, under General Warren, closing in so as to make this withdrawal impossible] to Five Forks, where he took position with General W. H. F. Lee on his right, Fitz Lee and Rosser on his left, with Roberts' brigade on the White Oak road connecting with General Anderson. The enemy attacked General Roberts with a large force of cavalry, and after being once repulsed finally drove him back across Hatcher's Run. A large force of infantry, believed to be the Fifth Corps, with other troops turned General Pickett's left and drove him back on the White Oak road, separating him from General Fitz Lee, who was compelled to fall back across Hatcher's Run. *General Pickett's present position is not known.* General Fitz Lee reports that the enemy is massing his infantry

heavily behind the cavalry in his front. The infantry that engaged General Anderson yesterday has moved from his front toward our right, and is supposed to participate in the operations above described. Prisoners have been taken to-day from the Twenty-fourth Corps, and it is believed that most of that Corps is now South of the James. Our loss to-day is not known. . . . R. E. LEE, *General*." [War Records, 46 Vol. Part III. p. 1371. etc].

The same day General Lee ordered Field's Division, then north of the James River, to be sent to Petersburg at once, the two right brigades to take the cars at Richmond for Petersburg and three brigades by dirt road, and for General Longstreet to come with them. But the emergency was pressing and the latter arranged for all the five brigades to go by rail; and for all the "Local troops" to be ordered out by the Richmond Secretary of War, and under Lieut.-Gen. R. S. Ewell to occupy the places of Longstreet's troops on the "huts and lines" north of the James River. All these elaborate but hasty arrangements were interfered with by the events of the ensuing day and the movements in connection with the evacuation of Richmond on the night of April 2d, 1865.

See also notes at end of Chapter IV.

CAMPAIGN ON THE APPOMATTOX.

1865.



CHAPTER IV.

Sunday, April 2d.—The night after the battle.—The midnight bombardment of Petersburg.—Shotted salutes.—The twenty miles of assault.—Fall of Petersburg.—What Sheridan was meanwhile doing.—Battle at Sutherland station.—Miles commended.—Some dispatches.

THE news of Sheridan's success, as it reached the different portions of our lines during the evening, electrified the troops, and in honor thereof shotted salutes were improvised and added distraction to the foe. There was little sleep for officers or men of either army that night. Orderlies galloped from general to general, colonels and captains inspected their commands, while the pattering and constant skirmish fire betokened activity and vigilance. Later this became more monotonous, and there might be a chance for a little repose. It was a calm, clear, starlight night; but soon the very ground seemed to tremble as though by an earthquake. Old campaigners tell of the cannonading at Fredericksburg and Gettysburg; but neither equaled in fury, reverberation, or grandeur

this midnight bombardment at Petersburg. Each army seemed determined that its adversary should have no rest. A mutual agreement of terrifying annoyance and wild destruction might have prevailed. Along those immense lines, from the Appomattox river on the right to where Sheridan was quietly resting on the battle-field of Five Forks, hundreds of guns, of every conceivable caliber, counterfeited the dread clamors of the immortal Jove. The plump of the solid shot as it buried itself in the earth; the shrieking, whistling Parrott, as you traced its lightning course by its burning fuse; the venerable mortar, as it slowly curved through the darkness in its fiery parabola and bursting high in air dropped its missiles of death into massing battalions; the spiteful little *minié* as it "whist" above the parapet—this was the pandemoniac introduction to the bloody onset for which our armies were preparing.

Daylight did not dawn the next pleasant Sunday morning on a sleeping soldier; and the intense activity of the glorious week ahead gave still less opportunity for sleep. Despite the great bombardment everything was ready, and along more than twenty continuous miles of works there was one grand assault which no historian ever contemplated

and no pen can describe. The Ninth corps, the Sixth corps, the Army of the James, and the Second corps extending in this order from right to left, each vied with the other in this glorious, successful, and immortal charge. The names of their heroes, living and dead—for the joy of victory in many a home was buried in the grief of bereavement—should be inscribed on an enduring shaft as a nation's monument to its heroic defenders. Let him who deems himself worthy essay to depict these scenes.

It was about eleven o'clock on the morning of Sunday, April 2, as he attempted the worship of his God, that, sitting quietly in church at Richmond, Jefferson Davis received from his coadjutor, Robert Lee, the following brief despatch: "My lines have been pierced; I shall evacuate Petersburg and Richmond." This simply tells the story.*

Meanwhile Sheridan was not idle; but his movements during this day, though materially aiding the general plan by reaping every advantage possible of his victory at Five Forks, were not specially notable. Miles's division of the Second corps reached him by daylight, Grant being determined that there should

* See note (a) at end of this Chapter.

now be nothing lost where so much had been gained.

The cavalry moved towards Ford's station at daylight and found the rebel cavalry collected near the crossing of Hatcher's run. But they fell back before him, and Sheridan with his cavalry and Fifth corps, soon halted at Ford's station, on the Southside road. The importance of this road to the rebels had been frequently so overestimated by newspaper generals in their editorial headquarters that now that we held it, some of our officers facetiously observed, "The war is over and we can go home." Miles's division was to strike the railroad nearer Petersburg, by a road known as the "Clairbourne Road." At the crossing of Hatcher's run, however, he came up with the enemy's infantry who, deeming it prudent not to offer battle there and retreating before him, posted themselves on an open farm at Sutherland's station. There was some misunderstanding about this time as to whether General Miles was under the command of Sheridan or Humphreys. Certain it is that the former relinquished it without a conflict of authority.

Miles had reported to Sheridan by order of General Grant, but on Humphreys preferring to Sheridan a request from General Meade

to return Miles, Sheridan relinquished command of Miles' division. [In his memoirs Sheridan says: "I have always regretted that I did so, for the message Humphreys conveyed was without authority from General Grant by whom Miles had been sent to me, but thinking good feeling a desideratum just then, and wishing to avoid wrangles, I faced the Sixth corps about and marched it down to Five Forks, and out the Ford road to the crossing of Hatcher's run. After we had gone General Grant, intending this quarter of the field to be under my control, ordered Humphreys with his other two divisions to move to the right, in toward Petersburg. This left Miles entirely unsupported, and his gallant attack made soon after was unsuccessful at first, but about three o'clock in the afternoon he carried the point which covered the retreat from Petersburg and Richmond."]

At the close of the day, when General Humphreys was congratulated by the writer on the brilliant success of this division of his corps, he generously replied: "It is General Miles's victory. I had nothing to do with it. The credit is due to him."

It was indeed a creditable affair, this handsome little battle at Sutherland station.

Close by the railroad here there ran a fine wide turnpike known as the "Cox Road," in former times the favorite drive from Petersburg, and leading through a well-cultivated farming country. In quiet contrast to the dreary forests south of Hatcher's run and not yet laid waste by the tramp of armies, the green fields and blooming fruit trees wore a rustic beauty quite refreshing. The rebels had chosen this for a battle-field, and had thrown up hastily a breastwork of earth and rails parallel with the road, while to the west some small redoubts a little more elaborate protected their flank. Their force comprised portions of two divisions, in all four brigades of infantry commanded by Scales, McGowan, McRae, and Wilcox. They had in position seven pieces of artillery, but while the battle was pending other guns were removed to the rear. Miles had attacked them twice during the afternoon without success. They held their own and inflicted on him considerable loss. His force consisted only of three brigades and Clarke's battery, about five thousand men, while the rebels mustered full as many, had a good position and acted entirely on the defensive. Late in the afternoon, while General Humphreys was hurrying to the support of General Miles, the latter

massed his troops on the enemy's left flank, and made a third and successful assault. Two of his brigade commanders (Generals Medill and McDougall) were wounded, but the enemy were by sunset driven from the field, losing two guns, a battle flag, and several hundred prisoners.

The fatigue of the troops and want of cavalry prevented further pursuit; and when all was quiet here, the fading sound of artillery in the direction of Ford's station announced that in Sheridan's front he, too, was "master of the situation." Crook's cavalry having now nothing further to accomplish by remaining at Dinwiddie, also moved forward with all the trains, and as the roads were by this time quite dry, encamped for the night near General Miles, who remained at Sutherland station.

This closed the fifth of the great eleven days' campaign; and had it not been for the troublesome storms, so seriously delaying our troops, there can be but little doubt that the results witnessed the next morning, in the entire evacuation of Petersburg and the abandonment of the rebel capital, would have been accomplished at least one day earlier.

It had been a warm spring day, and as the troops in front of the rebel breastworks

eagerly followed up their grand successful charge of the morning, the roads were strewn with overcoats, blankets, and knapsacks belonging as well to the pursuers as the pursued. Falling back to their last line of works immediately about Petersburg, the rebels now found themselves completely enveloped by our forces from the Appomattox river on the right around Petersburg to the river again on the left. No road of retreat was now open to them south of the Appomattox, while the strong force which Lee had detached to protect the Southside railroad, and to threaten Grant's flank, was now scattered in the woods an army of demoralized fugitives.

NOTES. (a.) This dispatch [quoted at page 85] does not seem to have found its way into the archives of the Confederate Government. But other dispatches that were exchanged between the latter and General Lee are found in those archives, and illustrate a termination of the Civil governing power at Richmond. General Lee telegraphed his Secretary of War (Gen'l J. C. Breckenridge) at 10.40 o'clock that morning [April 2d]: "I see no prospect of doing more than holding our position here [i. e. Petersburg] till night. *I am not certain that I can do that.* If I can I shall withdraw to-night north of the Appomattox, and, if possible, it will be better to withdraw the whole line to-night from James River. The Brigades on Hatcher's Run are cut off from us; enemy have broken through our lines and intercepted between us and them, and there is no bridge over which they can cross the Appomattox this side of Goode's or Beaver's, which

are not very far from the Danville railroad. Our only chance, then of concentrating our forces, is to do so near Danville railroad, which I shall endeavor to do at once. I advise that all *preparation be made for leaving Richmond to-night*. I will advise you later, according to circumstances. (signed) R. E. LEE. "To this dispatch there was the following reply from the *President* of the Confederate States: "Richmond, Va. April 2, 1865. General R. E. Lee Petersburg, Va.: The Secretary of War has shown me your dispatch. To move to-night will involve the loss of many valuables, both for the want of time to pack and of transportation. Arrangements are progressing, and unless you otherwise advise the start will be made. (signed) JEFFN. DAVIS." To this Lee responded: "I think it is absolutely necessary that we should abandon our position to-night. I have given all the necessary orders on the subject to the troops, and the operation, though difficult, I hope will be performed successfully. I have directed General Stevens to send an officer to your Excellency to explain the routes to you by which the troops will be moved to Amelia Court-House, and furnish you with a guide and any assistance that you may require for yourself. (signed) R. E. LEE." At 4.55 o'clock in the afternoon General Lee also notified the Secretary of War, obviously in response to inquiry: "I think the Danville road will be safe until to-morrow." At 7 o'clock he also sent a dispatch to the Secretary saying: "It is absolutely necessary that we should abandon our position to-night, or run the risk of being cut off in the morning. I have given all the orders to officers on both sides of the river, and have taken every precaution that I can to make the movement successful. It will be a difficult operation, but I hope not impracticable. Please give all orders that you find necessary in and about Richmond. The troops will all be directed to Amelia Court-House—(signed) R. E. LEE." The "orders to officers" above mentioned, by which the "Army of Northern Virginia" guided its final withdrawal to Richmond and its Vicinity, were as follows: "Head-Quarters Army of Northern Virginia, April 2, 1865. Generals Longstreet's and Hill's corps will cross the

pontoon bridge at Battersea Factory, and take the River road, north side of Appomattox, to Bevill's Bridge to-night. General Gordon's corps will cross at Pocahontas and railroad bridges, his troops taking Hickory road, following General Longstreet to Bevill's Bridge, and his wagons taking the wood-pecker road to old Colville endeavoring not to interfere with Mahone's troops from Chesterfield Court-House, who will take the same road. General Mahone's division will take the road to Chesterfield Court-House, thence by old Colville to Goode's Bridge. Mahone's wagons will precede him on the same road or take some road to his right. General Ewell's command will cross the James River at and below Richmond, taking the road to Branch church, via Gregory's, to Genito road, via Genito Bridge to Amelia Court-House. The wagons from Richmond will take the Manchester pike and Buckingham road, via Meadville, to Amelia Court-House. The movement of all troops will commence at 8 o'clock, the artillery moving out quietly first, infantry following, except the pickets, who will be withdrawn at 8 o'clock. The artillery not required with the troops will be moved by the roads prescribed for the wagons, or such other as may be most convenient. Every officer is expected to give his unremitting attention to cause the movement to be made successfully.

"By order of GENERAL LEE: W. J. TAYLOR, *Assistant Adjutant-General*.

"After all the infantry and artillery have crossed, Pocahontas and Campbell's Bridges will be destroyed by the Engineers. The pontoon bridge at Battersea Factory and the railroad bridges will be reserved for the pickets." [See. Vol. 46, Part III, pages 1378—9 of Official Records war of Rebellion.]

(b.) During the momentous events of this day, which this chapter by no means purports to narrate, President Lincoln had remained at General Grant's old headquarters at City Point. With him was Col. T. S. Bowers of General Grant's staff and to the latter General Grant frequently sent orders and dispatches containing information for the President. Mr. Lin-

coln at 8.30 A. M., April 2d, telegraphed to Mrs. Lincoln who had arrived that morning at the White House, saying: "Last night General Grant telegraphed that General Sheridan with his cavalry and the Fifth Corps had captured three brigades of infantry, a train of wagons, and several batteries, prisoners amounting to several thousand. This morning General Grant having ordered an attack along the whole line telegraphed as follows: 'Both Wright and Parke got through the enemy's lines. The battle now (6.40 A. M.) rages furiously. Sheridan with his cavalry, the Fifth Corps and Miles' Division of the Second Corps, which was sent to him since one this morning, is now sweeping down from the west. All now looks highly favorable. Ord is engaged, but I have not yet heard the result in his front.—U. S. Grant, Lieutenant-General.' Robert yesterday wrote a little cheerful note to Captain Penrose, which is all he has heard of him since you left. A. LINCOLN."

The battle or rather the series of battles was then raging; and General Grant directed Col. Bowers to notify Colonel Mulford, the commissioner in charge of exchanges of prisoners of war, "to make no more deliveries of rebel prisoners whilst the battle is going on. 'Parke captured two forts and two redoubts this morning with their guns. I have not yet heard from Sheridan, *but I have an abiding faith that he is in the right place and at the right time.* U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

At 10.45 A. M. the latter further telegraphed "everything has been carried from the left of the Ninth Corps. The Sixth Corps alone captured more than 8000 prisoners. The Second and Twenty-fourth Corps both captured forts, guns, and prisoners from the enemy, but I cannot yet tell the number. We are now closing around the works of the city immediately enveloping Petersburg. All looks remarkably well. I have not yet heard from Sheridan. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

By 4.40 o'clock in the afternoon General Grant summarized his situation in the following dispatch to Col. Bowers at City Point: "We are now up, and have a continuous line of troops, and in a few hours

will be intrenched from the Appomattox below Petersburg, to the river above. Heth's and Wilcox's divisions—such part of them as were not captured—were cut off from town, either designedly on their part, or because they could not help it. Sheridan, with the cavalry and Fifth Corps, is above them. Miles' division, Second Corps, was sent from the White Oak road to Sutherland's Station, on the South side Railroad, where he met them, and at last accounts was engaged with them. Not knowing whether Sheridan would get up in time General Humphreys was sent with another division from here (Boydton Road). The whole captures since the army started out gunning will not amount to less than 12000 men, and probably fifty pieces of artillery. I do not know the number of men and guns accurately, however. A portion of General Foster's division, Twenty-fourth Corps, made one of the most gallant charges and captured a very important fort from the enemy, with its entire garrison. All seems well with us, and everything quiet just now. I think the President might come out and pay us a visit to-morrow. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

The President immediately forwarded this dispatch by telegraph to Secretary of War (Stanton) and then replied to General Grant thus: "Allow me to tender to you and all with you the nation's grateful thanks for this additional and magnificent success. At your kind suggestion I think I will meet you to-morrow. A LINCOLN."

General Grant, practical but polite as always, then telegraphed: "If the President will come out on the 9 A. M. train to Patrick Station I will send a horse and an escort to meet him. It would afford me much pleasure to meet the President in person at the station, but I know he will excuse me for not doing so when my services are so liable to be needed at any moment. If nine is an inconvenient hour telegraph me the hour when the President will start and he will find his escort awaiting him when he arrives. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

Early in the evening of the same day General Grant received the following dispatch from General Meade: "Headquarters Army of the Potomac, April

2, 1865, 7.15 P. M., Lieutenant-General Grant: An officer who accompanied General Humphreys has just returned. Humphreys effected a junction with Miles, but the enemy had withdrawn. Humphreys was in pursuit. Miles had a very brisk engagement this afternoon, was severely pressed, and at one time part of his command gave way. He, however, stubbornly maintained his position till Humphreys arrived. Both divisions must be greatly fatigued from constant marching and Miles with fighting. I expect, therefore, that the enemy will get away. Nothing was heard from Sheridan when this officer returned. What orders shall be sent to Humphreys? GEO. G. MEADE, Major-General, commanding."

To this General Grant at 7.40 P.M. answered:

"I would send Humphreys no orders further than to report to Sheridan and return or cross the Appomattox, as he wishes. I have just heard from Sheridan. Lee himself escaped up the river. Sheridan thinks that all of the rebel army that was outside the works immediately around the city are trying to make their escape out that way. He is making dispositions to cut them off if he can. The Fifth Corps is now with or near the second and should not be moved in this direction to-night. I think there is nothing in Petersburg, except the remnant of Gordon's Corps and a few men brought from the north side to-day. I believe it will pay to commence a furious bombardment at 5 A. M. to be followed by an assault at 6, only if there is a good reason for believing the enemy is leaving. Unless Lee reaches the Danville road to-night he will not be able to reach his army to command here. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General."

Referring to the battle at Sutherland Station General Grant later, at 9.30 P. M., telegraphed to General Meade: "Miles has made a big thing of it and deserves the highest praise for the pertinacity with which he stuck to the enemy until he wrung from him victory. As the cavalry was coming down the Cox and River roads I am very much in hopes we will hear to-night of the capture of the balance of Heth's and Wilcox's divisions. . . ." (This did not then happen). General Miles was encouraged dur-

ing his battle by the following dispatch received from General Sheridan.

"Cavalry Headquarters, South Side Railroad, April 2, 1865, 2.40 P. M. Brevet Major-General Miles Commanding Division, Second Corps, General: I am instructed by Major-General Sheridan to inform you that we are now on the South Side Railroad and to hold on, and we will move down on the force opposing you and strike them in the flank. Very respectfully, your obedient servant. JAS. W. FORSYTH, Chief of Staff. P. S. We moved up to this point on the Ford Road."

General Miles kept battling, and his own dispatch to General Meade says: "At the third assault of the enemy's position along the South Side Railroad, made at 3.30 P. M. one brigade attacked on their flank succeeded in completely routing them. Have captured about 1,000 prisoners, 2 guns and 2 colors. Am now advancing toward Petersburg along the South Side road with one brigade along the River road. NELSON A. MILES, Brevet Major-General."

In the midst of all these anxious cares General Grant did not forget General Sherman, for on the same day he thus directed:

"April 2, 1865, Col. T. S. Bowers, City Point. Send all my dispatches that have gone concerning operations to Sherman. What you receive hereafter send to Fort Monroe by telegraph to be forwarded by first steamer to Morehead City. Have you stopped Mulford from delivering prisoners? If he has any on hand for delivery tell him to hold on to them.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General." [*Ibid.* p. 450.]

Late that day the President telegraphed to Mrs. Lincoln at the Executive Mansion: "Mrs. Lincoln: At 4.30 P.M. to-day General Grant telegraphs that he has Petersburg completely enveloped from river below to river above, and has captured since he started last Wednesday, about 12000 prisoners and 50 guns. He suggests that I shall go out and see him in the morning, which I think I will do. Tad and I are both well, and will be glad to see you and your party here at the time you name.

A. LINCOLN."

The Evacuation that night of Petersburg and Richmond brought about modifications of these plans.

CHAPTER V.*

A pursuit.—Sheridan's scouts.—Major Young their chief.—The march of Monday, April 3d, and Tuesday, April 4th.—Grant's general dispositions.—The composition of the pursuing army.—Its routes of March.—Avoiding a "stern chase."—The roads, the folk, and the country.—Horses "contraband of war."—The army's visitors.—Lee at Amelia Court-House.—Jetersville.—Battle expected: an opportunity lost to Lee.—Sheridan hopefully writes Meade about dispersing Lee's army.—Notes.—Some dispatches.

MONDAY morning, April 3d, while Sheridan was endeavoring to capture the remnants of these forces, news was received of the evacuation of Petersburg and probably Richmond. Scouts came in from every direction with reports of a small force in this or that locality which might be easily captured. Custer and Devin were dashing their squadrons over every farm, taking many prisoners, and adding to the distraction of the enemy. Near Deep Creek a fine battery of artillery was captured, while skirmishes and charges, lines of battle, and hurried marches were the order of the day. "Sheridan's scouts" were now pre-eminently active and useful. These anomalous characters—organized as a small

* See notes at end of this Chapter V.

battalion, under the command of Major Young, and composed of soldiers from different regiments, selected for their fitness for this peculiar duty—were a body of men without the slightest air of military appearance, but whose eminent services, in this and other campaigns, though not conspicuous, were most constant and valuable. They were known everywhere as “Sheridan’s scouts.” Spreading themselves over the country in groups of two, three, or half a dozen, they cover the flanks and precede the advance of every column. They learn every road, bridge, house, church, camp, and every *stable*. Not a quadruped within miles of Sheridan’s cavalry escapes their inspection, or, if useful, their immediate appropriation. Their constant riding makes it necessary that they should make these horse trades frequently, else their usefulness in the transmission of intelligence is seriously impaired. Habitually they assume the uniform—if such it can be called—of rebel soldiers, though among them you will just as frequently see men in the garb of a Virginia “planter;” an “F. F. V.” aboriginal, in rusty homespun and broad hat, riding at a careless amble along the road, swinging in one hand a poor specimen of a switch, and jerking with the other a much

poorer article of horseflesh. His bridle was not an unlikely part of a plow harness, while his saddle might have belonged to a runaway negro. Every soldier remembers these picturesque knights of the Southern chivalry, as they peered into the Union camps. Early in the war they made bold to demand of our officers their contrabands as "property;" later these "honorable" gentlemen found themselves much more useful to their "cause" as members of a volunteer corps for conveying information to the camp of the enemy; while still later in the war they sought from the hated Yankee his esteemed commissary stores, or a "gyard" to protect a dilapidated homestead. Certainly of the same blood must have been that younger class of similar visitors, who prowled about the country in unfrequented localities, seeking deeds of wickedness and desperation. It must have been one of these self-same farmer guerillas, bushwhackers, or whatever they may be called, who, hunting over the country one day, it is said, accidentally ran across one of our inimitables, apparently engaged in a similar sport, and to whom, in answer as to the kind of game he sought, he innocently replied that he was out after quails; although, he confidentially added, he didn't mind bring-

ing down a Yankee if he had a good chance. The disposition of our fellow-countrymen, as thus illustrated, seems to have been thoroughly appreciated by these ubiquitous scouts of Sheridan, who therefore *owned* everything they saw, and want of transportation was their limit to actual possession. They visited everybody, were at home in every house, and enjoyed at any hour of day or night that unreserved hospitality which they knew so well how to inspire. They conversed with every ignorant white man and every "intelligent contraband." They were most accurately informed of the hidden whereabouts of plate, jewelry, horses, and other concealed valuables, and knew where every road went to, and how to reach pleasant places not put down on the maps, by no road at all. Indeed these scouts were a most complete gazetteer of the country through which the cavalry marched. None could speak with more knowledge of its resources. While they led during the campaign this roving, demoralizing life, and gained much information, doubtless very interesting to themselves, they occasionally learned matters of value to their superiors. Their personal attachment to Sheridan was strong and reliable. On the march, or in action, scarcely an hour passed

that they did not bring him a direct report from distant and important quarters. They visited the enemy's outposts, rode about his wagon trains, spied out his camps, and encircled the cavalry corps with a network of eyes and ears. Seldom is a general in active campaign better acquainted with the moves of his enemy than was Sheridan in this. Aside from the information which each of his generals was able to send from his own immediate vicinity, these scouts were his only "secret service." They occasionally, too, accomplished deeds of valor. It was in the afternoon of the 3d, shortly after Custer's skirmish at Namozine church, that two or three of these men, riding carelessly along the road, encountered the rebel general, Baringer, and staff. By their shrewdness and audacity, the whole party was so deceived as innocently to ride with them to the rear of our lines. where the out-maneuvered general and party were obliged to surrender as prisoners of war. So energetic and confusing to the enemy had been Sheridan's pursuit. Similar instances frequently occurred.

The onward march of our army had been seriously impeded during the 3d of April by the high state of the creeks. The cavalry divisions under Custer and Devin skirmished

end here

constantly with the enemy; and Sheridan himself remained with the advance, gathering and sifting the information of the enemy's movements, which he was thus able to receive promptly from his scouts, and from a variety of other sources which a skilful officer can always command. At Namozine church (as already referred to) Custer experienced a lively, but successful affair; and as the infantry followed closely in his wake, they met here renewed evidences of the ravages of war. Deserted fields, barren with the tramp of cavalry, fences as if hurriedly opened here and there for the columns of war, empty corn cribs, and the crackling flames of blazing barns, burning like tinder, their dry lumber now falling to the ground, now slowly yielding as with submissive grace to their curling fires, pictured a desolation but typical of the vengeance which would fain follow evil spirits in rebellion.

It would have been very strange if the pursuit could have been so vigorously continued always with entire success in every skirmish. Nevertheless, the rule was to fight; and Custer's division had a lively day of it, not without loss in both men and officers. Wells's brigade of Custer's division had enjoyed the advance; but, after the

affair at Namozine church, Capehart's and Pennington's brigades were sent off on the right towards Dennisville. After running fights of several miles by both columns, Capehart encountered towards dark a strong force of the enemy not far from Bevil's ford, where they had been unable to cross. The rebel cavalry had now been pressed back to a body of their infantry guarding trains, who received a charge of Capehart's brigade with a destructive volley. They quickly deployed, and advanced to follow up this temporary success, forcing the Union cavalry back half a mile or more. Wells, however, had now come up by the other road, and McKenzie's division (the Army of the James cavalry) was also now in line, and the enemy seemed perfectly content to press no further. Lord's horse battery of Second Regulars—which has gained no little reputation by its eminent services in this campaign—added its persuasive arguments in checking the enemy. Becoming dark, however, the advance now encamped; yet it was long after midnight ere the last soldier of Sheridan's column had stretched himself for a short rest. During the day General Sheridan had had command of the Fifth corps, who followed the cavalry as closely as possible, all moving on the main

road running due west toward Burkesville. The enemy were moving in a parallel direction; their main body, however north of the Appomattox river, endeavoring to cross it at Bevil's bridge. When Sheridan encamped for the night, therefore, with his troops stretched along the road from Namozine to Deep Creek, Lee's main body was a few hours ahead, marching toward Amelia Court-House. This was on the route to Danville or Lynchburg, and, with these roads still open, should Lee continue to keep ahead of us, his retreat to either of these places would in all possibility be successful.

Grant's main body was now well on the march, and under his own personal direction. General Parke's (Ninth) corps for the present was left to garrison Petersburg and vicinity, and to protect the trains. This corps afterwards guarded the Southside railroad and otherwise watched the rear of the army. General Weitzel, with his troops, was taking care of Richmond; while General Meade, in immediate command of the Sixth corps and Second corps of the Army of the Potomac, General Ord, with Foster's and Turner's divisions of the Army of the James, and General Sheridan, with the Fifth corps and cavalry, enjoying the post of honor in the ad-

vance—in all, probably twenty-three thousand effective men—constituted the moving columns of the pursuing forces.

Lee's retreat at once must be vigorously interrupted, else the pursuit was now likely to become a "stern chase," prolonging for many weeks perhaps the operations against him, or longer upholding the organization of the Confederacy. No time was therefore to be lost. General Crook's division was in its turn now given the advance, and long before daylight on the morning of the Fourth was marching to strike the Danville railroad. Sheridan pushed his infantry through Dennisville and towards Jetersville station, while he occupied Devin's, Custer's, and McKenzie's cavalry by harassing the enemy wherever they could find him. Devin found Crook well on his way. His route at first lay through a very swampy country, but having no train, nothing was allowed to delay him. If the roads were not passable the men must pick their way in the woods and in the soft soil of this section of country, the wonder is that columns of troops have moved with any considerable rapidity. If the general character of the roads used by our armies in this war were always considered by writers or speakers on this subject, our American campaigns

would compare still more favorably than ever with the historical standards of military skill in European warfare. Farther on, however, towards the Danville railroad, the country opened into a series of well cultivated farms, or "plantations," as they are rather snob-bishly termed, beautiful in many instances with comfortable, hospitable looking homesteads. Most of these were now occupied, and no evidence appeared that troops of either army had ever visited here before. The inhabitants strolled to the roadside, some from idle curiosity to see the "Yankee cavalry," others to have a look at General Sheridan, of whom they seemed to know chiefly in connection with great destruction of property in other parts of Virginia; hence most of these defenceless people appeared in order to ask protection. It was more amusing to our troops than to these applicants when they learned that before they had finished their petition to a passing general, their barn doors had been opened, and favorite steeds led forth from private life to the stern reality of "grim visaged war." Oft and again was seen the plough standing in the furrow, while the weeping but unattractive woman who held it piteously bewailed her grievances. "Wouldn't the general leave her some broken-

down horse, that she might plough her fields and save her family from threatened starvation?" Never was conscription more remorselessly enforced than that against the equine quadrupeds in the country subjected to the marches of Sheridan's cavalry. But if horses in the enemy's country are not "contraband of war," then what is? Shortly after noon, Crook's advance struck the Richmond and Danville railroad at Ordinary, a small station two or three miles north of Burkesville, having neither seen nor heard of any enemy except a few straggling soldiers seeking their own homes. Officers and soldiers had expected that they would meet here at least a guard, or perhaps strike a retreating column. Ties and rails were at once torn up and hopes entertained of stopping some passing train. But a few hours before several trains had hurried by, laden with baggage, convalescent soldiers, and such other miscellaneous material as you might expect to find on the last cars available for the flight of "The Confederacy."

The day previous Jeff Davis and party had passed, but the miserable people in the neighborhood seemed to have no intelligence of and very little interest in his movements. The scouting parties brought in all intelligent

male people, white or black, that they could find. The latter came most cheerfully; but the proud Virginian often pleaded illness and every conceivable excuse to remain at home and to avoid meeting face to face those whose magnanimity would pardon his crimes, and whose victorious armies would rescue his fallen state. One only was bold enough to come voluntarily among our troops. He was a tall, lean, tobacco-spitter, perhaps forty years of age, with eyes of rather more than ordinary intelligence, clean face, wiry features, flowing tawny hair that denoted a scarcity of barbers in that locality, attired in ill-fitting clothes, the material and cut of which was certainly domestic, and topped off with an imperfect sombrero, of the unique but inelegant color of iron rust. This fellow, with considerable of that shrewdness considered a Yankee monopoly, endeavored to impress upon the group of officers he had chosen as his audience, his personal importance in this section. He had early in the war, so ran his story, served a short time in the "Southern" army, but for a long time past had been performing various official duties for the state and county where he now resided. He had not given Mr. Davis his unqualified support, but of course could not engage in any special hostility to his

power. He had heard of the evacuation of Richmond, and believed the "President" had gone to Danville; but he considered that the South could not now hold out much longer. He had very much regretted secession, but was obliged to go with his state. He thought it was now pretty well demonstrated that the "South" could fight (which nobody ever seriously doubted), but he added, as if by way of personal apology, that his poor health had relieved him from service in the field. He had endeavored to remain as quiet as possible during the war, probably because his health appeared now quite perfect, and because the conscripting officers might otherwise visit him. He continued further to express more extended views on public matters in general, not forgetting to ask the usual question as to what the North would do with the niggers if they were all free, as though a special appropriation of the "peculiar institution" had been decided upon; observing all the while a manner supposed to indicate his own local influence, and a desire to fraternize with the invaders of his "sacred soil." He concluded by hoping that as he was not a rich man, the general would see that he was not molested or disturbed in the enjoyment of his personal or proprietary rights. This, of course, was

the sole object of his visit, and crestfallen was his look of disappointment then on hearing the order that he was to be taken into custody for the present, according to the custom in such cases during active campaign. This was a fair example of those visits daily received by our officers from the Virginians generally known as the "middle class."

Crook's division now moved north along the railroad towards Jetersville station, and with the head of the other column on the more direct route which Sheridan was directing in person, reached there late in the afternoon.

The scouts from the west and north now brought in reports of the enemy from these directions, while our small parties were dashing out on every road in eager pursuit of information, or in hopes of making captures. Lee's advance had passed through Amelia Court-House, and there was constant skirmishing. His line of retreat to Danville was now occupied by a considerable force of cavalry, and the roads towards Lynchburg threatened. To have preserved both of these roads Lee should have made every sacrifice. Here was his fatal mistake. Had he sent a considerable force of infantry at once and attacked the little force of cavalry with which Sheridan was making such extensive demon-

strations, Lee would probably have been successful in making his retreat tolerably secure. Although his army was not probably well concentrated at Amelia Court-House, yet this was the policy our officers naturally expected from him, and Sheridan himself in his official report says: "It seems to me that this was the only chance the Army of Northern Virginia had to save itself, which might have been done had Lee promptly attacked and driven back the comparatively small force opposed to him, and pursued his march to Burkesville Junction."

Jetersville * is only eight miles north of Burkesville, on the Richmond and Danville railroad, and is the first station south of Amelia Court-House. The country about here is open, and probably as well cultivated as any part of Southern Virginia. Jetersville itself is a small village on the railroad, of scarcely a dozen dwellings, a store or two, blacksmith shop, post-office, and small railroad depot, where were found a few cars, and, though otherwise barren of any signs of thrift ✓

* I have visited Jetersville since the war. Fences are in many places replaced; old breastworks torn down for the sake of the logs they contained; and a portion of the battle-field yielded this year (1866) a very fine crop of corn. No traces of fight observable.

and enterprise, the little place wore an air of comfort and respectability. The telegraph wires had been cut further south, and a despatch from Lee's commissary, intended for Danville or Lynchburg, was received here. The operator, however, fleeing suddenly at our approach, left his papers behind.

A man on a mule rode into Sheridan's pickets, who on being searched was found to carry in his boots a message in duplicate to be telegraphed, one to the supply department at Danville and the other to Lynchburg. This message was signed by Lee's commissary general, and said: "The army is at Amelia Court House, short of provisions. Send 300,000 rations quickly to Burkesville Junction." There is reason to believe that Sheridan's scouts conveyed this message for him to the telegraph operator. At any rate Sheridan learned that rations had been ordered to meet Lee's army at Burkesville. Everything, therefore, pointed to a battle in this vicinity; and the troops did not rest that night before the dispositions were completed and the lines fortified to meet with all possible strength the violent attack which there was now every reason to suppose would be made by the enemy at daylight. At night Sheridan sent all the important information he had gained to Gen-

eral Meade, who, with the Second and Sixth corps infantry, was yet a considerable distance in his rear, adding in his urgent manner that if these troops could be got up in time he had hopes of capturing or dispersing the whole of Lee's army. The events of the next day strengthened this belief. Grant remained during the day with the command of General Ord, which marched along the Southside railroad, and on the night of the 4th instant encamped near Nottoway Court House.

NOTE.—No better description of the anxieties and activities of the days and nights of April third and fourth can be given than may be spelled from some of the official dispatches tersely narrating the events as their urgencies demanded. Here are some specimens :

"CITY POINT, Va., April 8, 1865—8.30 a.m. Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War. This morning General Grant reports Petersburg evacuated, and he is confident Richmond also is. He is pushing forward to cut off, if possible, the retreating army. I start to him in a few minutes.

A. LINCOLN."

"WAR DEPARTMENT, April 8, 1865—10.30 a.m. The President : I congratulate you and the nation on the glorious news in your telegram just received. Allow me respectfully to ask you to consider whether you ought to expose the nation to the consequence of any disaster to yourself in the pursuit of a treacherous and dangerous enemy like the rebel army. If it was a question concerning yourself only I should not presume to say a word. Commanding Generals are in the line of their duty running such risks ; but is the political head of a nation in the same condition ?

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

"CITY POINT, Va., April 8, 1865—5 p.m. Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War: Yours received. Thanks for your caution, but I have already been to Petersburg. Staid with General Grant an hour and a half and returned here. It is certain now that Richmond is now in our hands, and I think I will go there to-morrow. I will take care of myself.

A. LINCOLN."

"SUTHERLAND'S STATION, South Side Railroad, April 8, 1865. Maj. Gen. W. T. Sherman, Commanding Military Division of the Mississippi: General: The movements of which I spoke to you when you were here commenced on the 28th, and, notwithstanding two days of rain which followed, rendering roads almost impassable even for cavalry, terminated in the fall of both Richmond and Petersburg this morning. The mass of Lee's army was whipped badly south of Petersburg, and to save the remnant he was forced to evacuate Richmond. We have about 12,000 prisoners, and stragglers are being picked up in large numbers. From all causes I do not estimate his loss at less than 25,000. Sheridan, with his cavalry and one corps of infantry, was on our extreme left. The attack which ended the contest was made in the center. All to the right of the point were forced into Petersburg, or killed, or captured. Those to the left of it were cut off (our left) and forced to retreat up the Appomattox. Sheridan pushed in and intercepted them, forcing them to the north side, and with great loss. The troops from Petersburg, as well as those from Richmond, retreated between the two rivers, and there is every indication that they will endeavor to secure Burkeville and Danville. I am pursuing with five corps and the cavalry and hope to capture or disperse a large number more. It is also my intention to take Burkeville and hold it until it is seen whether it is a part of Lee's plan to hold Lynchburg and Danville. The railroad from Petersburg up can soon be put in condition to supply an army at that place. If Lee goes beyond Danville you will have to take care of him with the force you have for a while. It is reported here that Johnston has evacuated Raleigh and is moving up to join Lee.

Should he do so you will want either to get on the railroad south of him to hold it or destroy it so that it will take him a long time to repair damages. Should Lee go to Lynchburg with his whole force and I get Burkeville there will be no special use in you going any farther into the interior of North Carolina. There is no contingency that I can see except my failure to secure Burkeville that will make it necessary for you to move on to the Roanoke as proposed when you were here. In that case it might be necessary for you to operate on the enemy's lines of communication between Danville and Burkeville, whilst I would act on them from Richmond between the latter place and Lynchburg. *This army has now won a most decisive victory and followed the enemy. This is all that it ever wanted to make it as good an army as ever fought a battle.*

Yours, truly.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Namozine Church, Va., April 3, 1865, 4.10 p.m. Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States, General: At 11 a.m. the cavalry advance was three miles beyond Namozine Creek, on the main road, pushing forward. Up to that hour General Custer had captured 1 gun and 10 caissons. The resistance made by the enemy's rear-guard was very feeble. The enemy threw their artillery ammunition on the sides of the road and into the woods and then set fire to the fences and woods through which the shells were strewn. At 1 p.m. our advance was at Deep Creek, on the direct road to Beville's Bridge. We captured the enemy's rear-guard, numbering between 200 and 300 men, with 1 battle-flag. Brevet Brigadier-General Wells' cavalry brigade was on the direct road to Amelia Court-House, seven miles beyond Namozine Church. Prisoners report quite a force of the enemy's cavalry on this road. The roads are strewn with burning and broken down caissons, ambulances, wagons, and debris of all descriptions. Up to this hour we have taken about 1,200 prisoners mostly of A.P. Hill's Corps, and all accounts report the woods filled with deserters and stragglers, princi-

pally of this corps. One of our men, recaptured, reports that not more than one in five of the rebels have arms in their hands. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

"City Point, Va., April 4, 1865, 8 a.m. (Received 8.45 a.m.) Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War. General Weitzel telegraphs from Richmond that of railroad stock he found there 28 locomotives, 44 passenger and baggage cars, and 106 freight cars. At 3.30 this evening General Grant, from Sutherland's Station, ten miles from Petersburg toward Burkeville, telegraphs as follows: 'General Sheridan picked up 1,200 prisoners to-day, and from 300 to 500 more have been gathered by other troops. The majority of the arms that were left in the hands of the remnant of Lee's army are now scattered between Richmond and where his troops are. The country is also full of stragglers; the line of retreat marked with artillery, ammunition, burned or charred wagons, caissons, ambulances, etc.' A. LINCOLN."

"Wilson's Station, Va., April 4, 1865, Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War: The army is pushing forward in the hope of overtaking or dispersing the remainder of Lee's army. Sheridan, with his cavalry and Fifth Corps is between this and the Appomattox; General Meade, with the Second and Sixth, following; General Ord is following the line of the South Side Railroad. All of the enemy that retain anything like organization have gone north of the Appomattox, and are apparently heading for Lynchburg. Their losses have been very heavy. Houses throughout the country are nearly all used as hospitals for wounded men. In every direction I hear of rebel soldiers pushing for home, some in large, and some in small squads, and generally without arms. The cavalry have pursued so closely that the enemy have been forced to destroy probably the greater part of their transportation, caissons, and munitions of war. The number of prisoners captured yesterday will exceed 2,000. From the 28th of March to the present time our loss in killed, wounded and captured will not probably reach 7,000, of whom from 1,500 to 2,000 were captured, and many but slightly wounded. I shall continue the pursuit as long as there appears to be any use of it. U. S. GRANT."

"Cavalry Headquarters, April 4, 1865. Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States: General: General Merritt encamped last night at Deep Creek. He met there a strong force of infantry. There is a large train on the west side of the creek. Everything was in confusion yesterday, the enemy moving to the north side of the Appomattox, as if ignorant of the evacuation of Richmond. *If we press on we will no doubt get the whole army.* I will make for a point on the railroad intermediate between Amelia Court-House and Burkeville. General Crook will cover General Ord's front. Major Young, of my scouts, captured General Baringer yesterday. The River road is bad, no bridges over creeks. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General, U. S. Army, Commanding."

"Wilson's Station, April 4, 1865. Major-General Sheridan: An engineer from the South Side Railroad is just in from Burkeville. He reports that Davis and cabinet passed there about 8 a. m. yesterday, going south. There was no accumulation of supplies there except two train loads, which had been cut off from Petersburg. These were run up the road to Farmville. It was understood that Lee was accompanying his troops and that he was bound for Danville by the way of Farmville. Unless you have information more positive of the movements of the enemy push on with all dispatch to Farmville and try to intercept the enemy there. I will push two divisions of Ord's troops as far toward Burkeville to-morrow as possible. If you have not already done so send some cavalry over to him. It will be highly essential when he reaches Burkeville to throw down the Danville road and out toward the Farmville and Danville Pike. U. S. GRANT; Lieutenant-General."

"Cavalry Headquarters, April 4, 1865, 12 m. Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States: General: General Merritt reports that the force of the enemy in his front have all crossed to the north side of the Appomattox River, and from the best information he can obtain General Merritt is of the opinion that the enemy is retreating toward Lynchburg. General Crook has no

doubt reached the Danville railroad before this, and I am now moving out the Fifth Corps from Deep Creek as rapidly as possible in the direction of Amelia Court-House. Very respectfully, P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General, U. S. Army, Commanding. The number of prisoners captured yesterday will be nearly 2,000."

"Cavalry Headquarters. On the Road to Jetersville, April 4, 1865. Major-General Crook, Commanding Cavalry: Move up to Jetersville. I am making for that point. Send a party to the Junction. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Jetersville, on Richmond and Danville Railroad, April 4, 1865. Brevet Major-General Merritt, Commanding First and Third Cavalry Divisions: General: The major-general commanding directs that you push on rapidly with your command to this place (Jetersville). From the reports of prisoners and deserters we learn that the rebel army is in the vicinity of Amelia Court-House, with all their trains, etc., and that they are moving this way, toward Burkeville Station. We have just captured telegraphic dispatches from the chief commissary of General Lee's army ordering up to Amelia Court-House 200,000 rations; also dispatches ordering up forage, etc., to the above-named place. General Mackenzie has been engaged with the enemy at Amelia Court-House during this afternoon. From all accounts the advance of the rebel army cannot be more than three or four miles from here now. Crook's division of cavalry is now going into position; also the First Division of the Fifth Army Corps. It is important that you should come on quickly. The enemy, it would appear, thought that our forces were following up Mackenzie, and have no idea up to the present time that we are here. Orders have been sent back to hurry up the Second Army Corps and the remaining divisions of the Fifth Army Corps. Very respectfully, J. W. FORSYTH, Chief of Staff."

"Headquarters Cavalry Division, April 4, 1865, 5.30 P. M. Captain Baker, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General. Captain: I am at present at Five Forks.

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Have had a slight skirmish. Have heard from many sources that there is a large force of infantry at Amelia Court-House. As I have only about 1,100 men with me I have not deemed it proper to attack until I heard from either General Crook or yourself. If I do not hear from you before dark I shall retire some little distance to go into camp. I learned from a deserter belonging to Mahone's division that a large part of the rebel army is in the immediate vicinity of Amelia Court-House. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible of your own position, that of General Devin, and that of the infantry. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, R. S. MACKENZIE, Brigadier-General, U. S. Volunteers, Commanding Cavalry."

"April 4, 1865, Brigadier-General Forsyth, Chief of Staff. General: I find our infantry on the road to my left, after turning, as directed, to move to General Crook's front and right. If I was opposed, and found resistance in crossing, I can cross at Deep Run, where I was, and will do so with my whole command, as I think it the best thing I can do. The crossing is bad, but the only ford on the creek, so the people say. I will move toward Amelia Court-House if what is developed on the other side Deep Creek does not lead me to move toward Bevill's Bridge. I think the enemy has gone to Amelia Court-House. If this movement is not in accordance with the General's desire let me know. I will send Mackenzie to General Crook as soon as I get in striking distance of him. Very respectfully, your obedient servant. W. MERRITT, Brevet-Major-General."

"April 4, 1865, Brigadier-General Forsyth, Chief of staff: General, I send you a black boy with very important information. Let the General see him and question him. He says they mean fight at Amelia Court-House. He is willing to tell, and knows a great deal. The works in our front are heavily manned with infantry. I will stop here to-night. Will you please let the boy come back to me, I want him for a servant. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, W. MERRITT, Brevet-Major-General."

"Headquarters Army of the Potomac, April 4, 1865, 2.45 P. M. Major-General Sheridan: Will you let me know to what point you are moving and by what roads? This is necessary for me to determine my own orders for my command. GEO. G. MEADE, Major-General."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Jetersville, April 4, 1865, 7 P. M. Major-General Meade, commanding Army of the Potomac: General: The rebel army is in my front, three miles distant, with all its trains. If the Sixth Corps can hurry up we will have sufficient strength. I will hold my ground unless I am driven from it. I understand that Humphreys is just after the Fifth Army Corps. My men are out of rations and some wagons should follow quickly after the Fifth Corps. Please notify General Grant. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General, commanding."

P. S.—The enemy are moving from Amelia Court-House, via Jetersville and Burke's Station, to Danville, Jeff. Davis passed over this railroad yesterday to Danville, P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

"April 4, 1865. 4 P. M. Brigadier-General Forsyth, Chief of Staff: General: I have met the enemy in considerable force near Beaver Pond Creek. They seem to be inclined to hold the forks of the roads to Amelia Court-House and Goode's Bridge. (I have just received a report from Captain Whiteford, with Mackenzie's division, I enclose it.) From all this there is no doubt about their holding Goode's and Beville's Bridges, with a view of crossing Appomattox. The force I sent on Beville's Bridge road reports meeting the enemy. In how great a force I do not know. I will hold the forks at Tabernacle Church and find out what I can. Prisoners just taken report Heth, Johnson, Pickett in our front with all the enemy's cavalry. They use their artillery freely. We have taken prisoners from Heth's and Johnson's divisions. The enemy does seem inclined to hold the roads, but not to advance. Prisoners just taken report that some said they were going to Amelia Court-House, and others across the Appomattox. Negroes report all trains gone to the bridges on Appomattox. Very

respectfully, your obedient servant, W. MERRITT,
Brevet-Major-General."

"ORDERS. Headquarters Army of the Potomac, April 4, 1865—9.30 p.m. The troops of the Second Corps and Sixth Corps will be put in motion to-morrow morning by 8 a.m. (regardless of every consideration but the one of finishing the war); will move toward Jetersville and the Danville railroad. Three days' rations for the cavalry, Fifth, Second, and Sixth Corps, together with the usual amount of ammunition for the Fifth Corps, which will answer for the whole army, and such ambulances as are with the trains, will to-morrow have the right of way, and the troops will endeavor to let them pass. All staff officers will see that all other wagons are promptly parked out of the road where they may be, on the receipt of this order. Should it be found impossible to move the supply train herein indicated, every effort will be made to supply the troops by driving beef and by packing subsistence on pack-mules. The major-general commanding impresses upon all officers and men the necessity of promptitude and of undergoing the necessities and privations they are herein enjoined to. The major-general commanding feels he has but to recall to the Army of the Potomac the glorious success of the oft repeated gallant contests with the Army of Northern Virginia, and when he assures the army that, in the opinion of so distinguished an officer as General Sheridan, it only requires these sacrifices to bring this long and desperate conflict to a triumphant issue, the men of this army will show that they are as willing to die of fatigue and starvation as they have ever shown themselves ready to fall by the bullets of the enemy.

GEO. G. MEADE, Major-General."

"Headquarters Army of the Potomac, Near Deep Run, April 4, 1865—11 p.m. Major-General Sheridan: Your dispatch by Colonel Newhall received. I send you my order and my dispatch—to Lieutenant-General Grant. These will explain themselves and save repetition. The Second, and Sixth Corps shall be with you as soon as possible. In the meantime your wishes or suggestions as to any movement other than

the simple one of overtaking you will be promptly acceded to by me, regardless of any other consideration than the vital one of destroying the Army of Northern Virginia, which I judge from your dispatch you consider as practicable.

GEO. G. MEADE, Major-General."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Near Jeter's Station, Va., April 4, 1865—11 p.m. (Received 11.30 p.m.) Bvt. Maj. Gen. W. Merritt. General: The major-general commanding directs that you move your command rapidly to this place. General Sheridan thinks the enemy are trying to hold your command whilst they are moving their trains in an opposite direction, toward Danville or Lynchburg. General Mackenzie is ordered to feel the enemy frequently and make constant demonstrations without pushing them too hard, merely holding them, in fact, while we make other arrangements here. The General orders that you take the shortest and most practicable route to this point. It is important that you should be here early in the morning.

The whole rebel army, trains, artillery, etc., are now in the immediate vicinity of Amelia Court-House, and were trying to make their way to Danville via this point and Burkeville. *They evidently supposed from your and Mackenzie's attack to-day that you were the advance of our army, and we were moving up in your rear. They had no idea that we would strike this point, and are evidently surprised.* Telegraphic dispatches from General Lee's chief quartermaster and commissary of subsistence, ordering 200,000 rations and forage, were captured here this evening. I think we have received all of your dispatches of to-day. Some of your men were here. I will keep your colored boy for you; also the sergeant. JAS. W. FORSYTH, Chief of Staff."
(All above are quoted from Official War Records Vol. 46, Part III.)

CHAPTER VI.

Wednesday, April 5th.—The daybreak Cavalry dashes.—Brilliant exploit of Davies.—The captures.—His modest report.—Crook arrives to his relief and secures the retreat.—Irwin Gregg's brigade cut off in the fight.—The enemy renew the attack in force.—Battle of Jetersville.—Sad losses.—The tell-tale captured note.—Sheridan writes Grant "I see no escape for Lee."—How the day closed.—Some dispatches.

WITH the morning of the 5th of April opened a grand series of cavalry dashes into the lines of the retreating army which have made the exploits of these few days so notorious and brilliant.

Before daylight on the morning of the 5th General Davies, with his brigade of not more than twelve hundred men, marched from the bivouac at Jetersville, with orders to make a reconnaissance toward the north and west. He had not gone over three or four miles before he learned of heavy movements of troops and wagon trains on the main road leading from Amelia Court House toward Lynchburg. Pursuing the general principle (Napoleon's maxim), never to hesitate to strike a retreating enemy, and in obedience to the true spirit

of cavalry, the opportunity here presented was at once accepted. General Davies determined to attempt the capture or destruction of the train and its escort, or as much of it as possible, and then retire by the most feasible route before any considerable force of the enemy could reach him from Amelia Court House. His small command comprised the Twenty-fourth and Tenth New York, the First Pennsylvania, and First New Jersey, and were as fine a body of cavalry for their size as could be found in the service. The last two regiments served alongside of each other during the whole war, and there had grown up between them a strong attachment and mutual confidence. They were "twins," always cherishing in highest regard the memory of their first brigade commander, and formerly colonel of the First Pennsylvania, the gallant Bayard, who fell at Fredericksburg, the youngest major-general and the most prominent cavalry officer in the Army of the Potomac. Side by side again and again had these two famous little regiments fought together in the common cause, and now again they led off in this brilliant *déjeuner*.

Coming upon their enemy unawares, his confusion was their enjoyment. The pros-

pect of capture, plunder, or destruction of a large train of army wagons induces inspirations appreciated only by veterans, while, united to the rivalry of generous ambition and a strong *esprit de corps*, it renders a body of men impetuous, resolute, and invincible, So it was this morning. As soon as Davies struck the rebel line of march, part of his command was sent toward the Court House, while another portion galloped toward Paine's cross-roads. The scenes now were no less amusing than demoralizing. The train, which must have extended for several miles along the road, was escorted by a respectable body of cavalry in its advance, with a strong force of infantry in its rear, in addition to smaller detachments from both arms, as well as stragglers scattered here and there among the wagons. Men and animals were much in need of rest and refreshment. Since leaving Petersburg they had been almost constantly moving, and the dawn of this morning found them a good distance ahead of Lee's main body, with a reasonable prospect of a long march and a quiet day. Without notice, however, our men were now among them, dashing up and down the road, now shooting the drivers, now charging their guards; now unceremoniously overhauling

the contents of a heavily laden wagon, or attempting to drive off mules, drivers, wagons and all. Scared contrabands grinned, and impudent teamsters looked gloomy as the miscellaneous paraphernalia of an army baggage train was hurriedly turned inside out by the irreverent "Yankees." There were personal encounters, too. Soldiers and small parties were scattered for two or three miles up and down the road. Nearly every one had his own separate contest. A new and elegant battery of five Armstrong guns was found in the train, and at once turned toward our lines. This battery had apparently never been used, and was complete in all its appointments, even to a fine new russet leather harness, and had arrived in Richmond not long before the evacuation. It had been imported by blockade running from our "neutral" English cousins at a great expense, said to have been borne entirely by an enthusiastic Captain Picketts. But the advance and rear guards of the train were approaching. There was no time to lose, and much was to be done. It was evidently impossible to get away with any considerable part of the wagons, and destruction was therefore the order of the day. The traces were cut, mules and drivers impressed, and the

wheels were chopped into kindling wood. The skirmishing grew more lively; the prisoners and captures were moved as rapidly as worn-out mules and reluctant "Secesh" would permit; and the fires quickly lighted, It was amazing to see in what incredibly short space of time complete inventories were taken of the various contents of a single wagon. It was likewise amazing to note the judicious selection therefrom by our soldiers of portable articles of use and value; and this was a curious index of personal taste. With some, money, jewelry, and wearing apparel, when desirable, seemed to be the favorite choice; while one eager party was obliged to disperse and desist in their interesting endeavors to force a salamander safe. Some headquarter wagons offered elegant uniforms and loads of rebel official literature; but there was no time for further entertainment of this character. Our men were getting short of ammunition and had their retreat impeded with their captures, which now footed up to two or three hundred mules and horses, prisoners, a battery, several stands of colors—many of the latter taken out of wagons—besides quite a number of prominent rebel officers. The scene along the road as we left it filled with burning wagons, was one elon-

gated panorama of fiery destruction. The raid was now a complete success; much valuable information had been gained, a large train destroyed, and a main road of great use to the enemy seriously encumbered with the debris. General Lee's headquarters which it was afterwards learned were not more than half a mile from the scene, were roused by the firing, and hurriedly removed to escape capture. His whole army was on the alert and prudence demanded that our little handful of men should retire. Meanwhile at Jetersville, nothing had been heard from General Davies; so at seven or eight o'clock in the morning Crook started to his support with the remainder of his division.

At Amelia Springs is a large hotel-looking establishment (now a female seminary), cozily situated among a series of pleasant hills and dales, contiguous to Sulphur Springs and seemingly an inviting watering-place; now, however, quite barren and deserted. There General Crook first heard from Davies. A motley crew of rebel officers, soldiers, contrabands, and teamsters mounted on mules and horses, some with saddles, some without, some with the team harness, others with extemporized rope bridles, and still others on foot or without any equipment at all, blocked up the

narrow road. Headed by an imposing display of rebel colors and battle-flags, guarded by a small detachment, and followed by the captured guns creeping along with reluctant drivers, the sight of this unwieldy and heterogeneous column told the whole story of the morning's achievements. No official report was necessary to explain it. Crook pressed on, content with now and then asking a prisoner where he had belonged, and shortly after met with Davies's brigade retreating as slowly as possible before a much superior force of infantry. The soldiers seemed almost wild with the excitement of success; every countenance beamed with delight. Officers grasped each other in hearty congratulation. General Davies rode up to his commander with a pleasant salute, and modestly reported to General Crook, "General: I have made my reconnaissance." Davies is a man of remarkably short stature, and small but neat in form. He is about thirty years of age, and at the breaking out of the war was a lawyer of several years' practise in New York city, having graduated at Columbia college. He entered the service as a line officer in the famous Fifth New York or Duryea Zouaves, in which Warren, Kilpatrick, and other officers now of high rank were his cotemporaries; but shortly after the affair

of Big Bethel he obtained his transfer to a field appointment in a New York cavalry regiment, and was soon thereafter made colonel of the Harris Light Cavalry. An excellent disciplinarian, gallant, ambitious, able, and commended by his superiors, his friends found ample opportunities to press his promotion. He was made brigadier-general in 1863, brevet major-general in March, 1865, and soon after Lee's surrender was appointed full major-general of volunteers. There are few officers of his rank in the army who have so clean a record of faithful and continuous service. His handsome success of this morning in the execution of orders of a most general character has added not a little to his reputation.

The rebels vigorously and with a strong force pushed back our men while another detachment sought to cut off and recapture the guns and prisoners; but the boldness and celerity of our movements deceived them.

The appearance of the captures in our bivouacs at Jetersville was the occasion for intense enthusiasm. Newspaper correspondents who had not been able to collect any sensation items for the last day or two, despatched a variety of glowing reports; while the effect on the rank and file was hearty and encourag-

ing. Crook's retreat was, however, by no means simple or easy. The generals sat down with the maps to consult; but a fresh outbreak of musketry almost over their heads interfered.

Gregg's brigade was formed at once, and Davies allowed to retire for recuperation, but the rebels appeared to be in great numbers in Gregg's front and on both of his flanks. He seemed suddenly surrounded, and himself with a large portion of his men and horses narrowly escaped capture.

Meanwhile as the day wore on the rebels had moved down the railroad from Amelia Court House, reconnoitering and skirmishing. Finally towards sunset, finding nothing in their front but cavalry, they seemed determined to break through. Their whole army had been disposed for battle and once more their cavalry lines were pushed by heavy infantry. Smith's brigade, with a portion of Davies's, as firmly received them in a spirit well illustrated by an episode. The First Pennsylvania Cavalry had been ordered to his support, and was commanded by a gallant major named Thomas. Arrayed in full uniform, and decorated with the hat, buff sash, and gauntlets of the rebel general, Fitzhugh Lee [as Thomas believed], as a part of the

results of that morning's captures, Thomas rallied his men around an elegant and conspicuous stand of colors handsomely embroidered with the arms of Pennsylvania. The enemy were at first repulsed, as though surprised at the audacious charges of our men, and a soldier of the First Pennsylvania captured a rebel color. Its re-capture was attempted, and in the *mélée* the color fell into the hands of a member of the Thirteenth Ohio.

It was the standing order of the army that the captors of the enemy's colors should receive furloughs, and quite likely congressional medals, and other privileges would be added. The Pennsylvania soldier, therefore, complained on the field to his major that *he* was entitled to the color. "No," said the major, "the Thirteenth had as much right to that color as we did. We will capture another one, and make the thing even!" And soon they did take another one, but the noble major paid for it with a leg. About the same time Colonel Janeway, the young commander of the First New Jersey Cavalry, was instantly killed while leading one of the closing counter-charges of the day.

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Jetersville may not perhaps be recorded as

the name of one of the grand battles of the war, yet Lee's and Sheridan's soldiers can never forget it. It will be remembered as a most harassing succession of cavalry skirmishes and charges; isolated squadrons boldly throwing themselves on advancing battle lines; audacious, brilliant dashes wherever the rebels made their appearance; delaying and deceiving Lee; scouring the country on every side of him; halting his army when each moment of its march was its very life; pushing back his reconnoitering parties, preventing him from learning what force of Union infantry had arrived to oppose him should he choose to attack, yet challenging battle everywhere. The precious blood spilled at Jetersville, the exploits of individual valor and heroism of which no man can ever tell, entitle the name of Jetersville to a conspicuous record in the military history of the country.

It was during this afternoon that a disconsolate rebel colonel thus wrote to his mother from Amelia Court House: * "Our army is ruined, I fear. We are all safe as yet. . . . We are in line of battle this evening. General Robert Lee is in the field near us. My trust is still in the justice of our cause. . . . I send this by a negro I see passing

up the railroad to Mechlenburg." The note was captured, and soon after General Sheridan wrote his famous despatch to General Grant:

"GENERAL:—I send you the enclosed letter, which will give you an idea of the condition of the enemy and their whereabouts. I sent General Davies's brigade this morning around on my left flank. He captured at Paine's cross-roads five pieces of artillery, about two hundred wagons, and eight or nine battle-flags, and a number of prisoners. The Second Army corps is now coming up. I wish you were here yourself. I feel confident of capturing the Army of Northern Virginia if we exert ourselves. I see no escape for Lee. I will send all my cavalry out on our left flank, except McKenzie, who is now on the right.

(Signed) P. H. SHERIDAN,
Major-General."

* NOTE. Relating to the operations of April 5th the following despatches are of special interest:

"City Point, Va., April 5, 1865, (Received 11.55 P.M). Hon. Secretary of State: Yours of to-day received. I think there is no probability of my remaining here more than two days longer. If that is too long come down. I passed last night at Richmond and have just returned. A. LINCOLN."

"Headquarters. Armies of the United States, Nottoway Court-House, Va., April 5, 1865. Hon. E.

M. Stanton, Secretary of War: Last night General Sheridan was on the Danville road south of Amelia Court-House, and sent word to General Meade, who was following with the Second and Sixth Corps by what is known as the River road, that if the troops could be got up in time he had hopes of capturing or dispersing the whole of Lee's army. I am moving with the left wing, commanded by General Ord, by the Cox or direct Burkeville road. We will be to-night in or near Burkeville. I have had no communication with Sheridan or Meade to-day but hope to hear very soon that they have come up with and captured or broken up the balance of the army of Northern Virginia. In every direction we hear of the men of that army going home, generally without arms. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"Nottoway Court-House, April 5, 1865. Hon. E. M. Stanton, Washington: The following despatch is just received from General Sheridan. General Meade was following the same road pursued by Sheridan, and Lieutenant Dunn, of my staff, who brought the despatch, met the Second Corps within five miles of Amelia. General Ord will push forward by Burkeville, and endeavor to intercept the outlet south."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Jetersville, April 5, 1865. Lieutenant-General Grant. General: The whole of Lee's army is at or near Amelia Court-House, and on this side of it. General Davies, whom I sent out to Plainville on their right flank, has just captured six pieces of artillery and some wagons. We can capture the Army of Northern Virginia if force enough can be thrown to this point, and then advance upon it. My cavalry was at Burkeville yesterday, and six miles beyond on the Danville road last night. Lee is at Amelia Court-House in person. They are out, or nearly out, of rations. They were advancing up the railroad toward Burkeville yesterday when we intercepted them at this point. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"Jetersville, April 5, 1865, 10.10 P. M. Major-General Ord, Burkeville, Va.: In the absence of further orders move west at 8 A. M. to-morrow and take

position to watch the roads running south between Burkeville and Farmville. I am strongly of the opinion Lee will leave Amelia to-night to go south. *He will be pursued at 6 a. m. from here if he leaves. Otherwise an advance will be made upon him where he is.* U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

CHAPTER VII.

Thursday, April 6th.—Results of the previous day.—Delay in changing the routes of march.—Diverse opinions.—Sheridan reliant and active.—Orders his troop to attack wherever seeing the enemy.—Latter thus detained at Deatonville.—Severing Lee's columns.—Many vain attempts.—Battle of Sailor's Creek.—The Sixth Corps close in.—The consequent collapse of Ewell's corps.—The captures and captives.—A young aide [Capt. Cyrus S. Roberts, now Brig.-Genl. regular army retired] takes unaided fifty prisoners.—The great cavalry charges.—Their failures and successes.—Mule cavalry.—The final crash.—Incidents.—The end of the daylight.—Sheridan's despatch to Grant at night: "If the thing is pressed I think Lee will surrender."—Grant replies "Press things."—Some despatches.

THE result of the day's operations on April 5th, and the observations during the night, indicated that Lee was moving his army from Amelia Court House toward Lynchburg. Early on the morning of the 6th, however, the Army of the Potomac, which was now at Jetersville, advanced north toward the Court House, with orders from General Meade to attack the enemy vigorously. General Meade had not thus far enjoyed any opportunity for participating in the active battles of the pursuit; and it is quite likely that, had he not been obliged by

ill health to remain quiet in an ambulance during the march of the 5th inst., more accurate information would have caused an earlier modification of this order for the 6th inst.

[In his *Memoirs*, Sheridan says that General Grant, who on the 5th was accompanying General Ord's column towards Burkesville Junction, did not receive the foregoing despatch (quoted at the close of Chapter VI.) until nearly nightfall, when within about ten miles of the Junction. General Grant then, as Sheridan narrates, "set out for Jetersville immediately, but did not reach us till near midnight, too late, of course, to do anything that night. Taking me with him, we went over to see Meade, whom he then directed to advance early in the morning on Amelia Court House. In this interview Grant also stated that the orders Meade had already issued would permit Lee's escape, and therefore must be changed, for it was not the aim only to follow the enemy, but to get ahead of him, remarking during the conversation that he 'had no doubt Lee was moving right then.' On the same occasion Meade expressed a desire to have in the proposed attack all the troops of the Army of the Potomac under his own command, and asked for the return of

the Fifth corps. I made no objections, and it was ordered to report to him. When on the morning of the sixth Meade advanced toward Amelia Court House he found, as predicted, that Lee was gone. It turned out that the retreat began the evening of the 5th and continued all night. Satisfied that this would be the case I did not permit the cavalry to participate in Meade's useless advance but shifted it out toward the left, to the road running from Deatonsville to Rice's station, Crook leading and Merritt close up.")

At daylight the cavalry was soon marched away from Jetersville, taking the roads directly south towards Burke's station until a way was reached by which Sheridan might be able to throw his column upon the roads used by Lee on his march towards Lynchburg, making a little detour to the south to avoid interfering with the movements of the infantry marched towards Deatonsville, a cross-roads and small village on the enemy's line of march, Crook's division leading off. Merritt's corps (Devin's and Custer's divisions) were also brought around from the right of the infantry, according to the programme indicated in Sheridan's despatch of the day before, and following Crook for a short distance soon diverged on his right and sought

at once to strike Lee's line of march. Although most officers of the cavalry corps believed that the main body of the rebel army had by this time left Amelia Court House, still if this was not the case, while Meade's army should fight them there, Sheridan would completely intercept their further retreat, thus perhaps winding up the campaign. Lee, however, seemed to have partially anticipated those movements, and therefore had hurried his army as fast as possible out of this new snare which further delay might have brought upon him. Humphreys, with the combined Second and Third corps, soon reported to General Meade that the enemy was moving away from his front towards the left. Wheeling his army as soon as possible in that direction, General Meade found his troops of the Second corps in contact with, and closely pursuing the rear-guard of Lee's army. This movement towards Amelia Court House was therefore the occasion of considerable delay in further intercepting the retreat, causing a detour of several miles in the march of some of the corps before they actually reached the enemy.

Sheridan, meanwhile, had neither waited nor halted. The enemy's wagon train and

troops were soon espied moving as anticipated. The Army of the Potomac had no occasion to fight at Amelia Court-House, and the policy now was to strike the rebels anywhere while on the march, destroy more of his trains, delay and harass him until he at last could be completely intercepted. There was therefore no reconnoitering but an immediate attack wherever our troops could see the enemy. Merritt's troops (Custer's and Devin's divisions) struck the rebel columns at Deatonsville, and Crook a little further to west on the Farmville and Lynchburg road.

Custer and Devin found themselves in open country, and their charges into the enemy's train resulted in considerable destruction. They also succeeded in holding the enemy at Deatonsville until the appearance of our infantry; when Sheridan marched Merritt around to the left and rear to strike the enemy again on Crook's left. Crook meanwhile found himself seriously engaged with a large force of infantry. The country along the lane by which he advanced on the enemy was densely wooded. There was but little opportunity to fight except dismounted, and while our troopers pulled aside the branches as they struggled through the woods to form their lines of battle, a well-

developed force of infantry met them with a destructive fire. With Smith's brigade on the right and Gregg's on the left our men stood their ground firmly, but when it was evident that they had encountered the main body of one of Lee's infantry corps, they were quietly withdrawn, and ordered to proceed again towards the left of Merritt. Crook was now in his turn to march around Merritt's rear, and to strike the enemy again on Merritt's left. Thus would Lee's flank be constantly assailed; and unless he halted his entire army the chances were most favorable that Sheridan would by these successive attacks in flank encounter some weak point and sever Lee's columns while on the march. It was in this attempt, at last so gloriously successful, that was fought the famous battle of Sailor's Creek.

Most justly has it been the theme of flaming official bulletins from the generals whose forces were there engaged. These, however, convey to the popular mind only very indefinite ideas; they tell of an attack with General So-and-So on the right, and such a corps on the left; of a grand success, with the capture of so many prisoners, guns, small arms and colors; of the good behavior of all officers and soldiers, and end with calling attention

to the conduct of some particular officers who may have come under more immediate observation of their chiefs than some of their less fortunate, but equally deserving, compeers. But it is for the artist who has witnessed these battle scenes, when he paints them on the life-like canvas, or the master mind who can group together all the facts of the contest, making a series of pen pictures of deeds of unemblazoned heroism, depicting in all their stern grandeur the fearful strife of war, telling with truthfulness and touching simplicity of those

“Ten thousand glorious actions that might claim
Triumphant honors or immortal fame.”

to give to history the story of a battle. Leaving then this task in such hands I am only now speaking of that which I saw, *et quorum pars fui*.

In the course of the overlapping successive attacks by the divisions under Devin, Custer, and Crook, by which Sheridan essayed to strike a weak point of the enemy, Custer soon after noon found himself near the road on which the enemy's trains and columns were moving, and quite in advance of the main body of Ewell's corps, which was apparently Lee's rear-guard.

To protect their road, therefore, the rebels must halt and fight. General Ord's column about the same time advancing from Burkesville, struck Lee still further to the west, and compelled him to halt there, while the Sixth and combined Second-Third corps of the Army of the Potomac so closely pressed the entire rear of Lee's army as to employ in their front a very considerable force. Thus was Lee's army, now wearied, harassed, hungry, and defeated, and with all its impediments stretched for miles along the country, beset with a hopeful, enthusiastic, vigorous, and pursuing foe on its entire flank; every wagon threatened with capture or destruction; every regiment watching for battle or escape. Sheridan himself was at this time on the south of Sailor's Creek assailing the strong rear-guard of the enemy with one cavalry brigade under Colonel Stagg, who was fighting rebel infantry of ten times his strength, charging desperately their breastworks, and displaying every man many times in different places. By these admirable demonstrations he occupied the enemy until the Sixth corps arrived, when the attack became more extended and successful; at the same time Humphreys, with the combined Second-Third corps, met the enemy, and ad-

vanced on the right of the Sixth corps. Meanwhile Custer with his two remaining brigades had essayed to reach the main trains passing by his front, and charged the long, thin line of infantry protecting them in vain attempts to pierce it and cut off all the troops now opposing the Army of the Potomac infantry. The rebels seemed to have been hurriedly posted in a line, taking but little of the natural advantage which the locality afforded, and protected by hastily constructed breastworks of earth and rails. A couple of pieces of artillery were rolled into position, and the enemy quietly awaited the result of Custer's cavalry maneuvers on the open plain in their front. Their ammunition was precious and was not wasted.

Dismounting a few of his men to engage the enemy in the wooded portions of the field, Custer formed the remainder to charge again the rebel line in his front. The country was open and undulating, with fine positions for artillery, quite favorable for cavalry operations, and altogether what a veteran would call a splendid battle-field. Custer's two light Parrott guns relieved him of any annoyance from the Rebel artillery; but the character of the country also gave either party

the advantage of observing the other's maneuvers.

About this time General Crook's column appeared on the hills, and filing off into dense woods seemed marching past the field of battle further towards the enemy's advance. But this was only a *ruse*. Concealed in the woods and guided partially by a "reliable contraband," the course of the column was at once changed, and just as Custer was prepared for his second charge, Crook emerged into the field on his immediate left and directly in front of the enemy. Away now to the charge dashed Custer's troopers; squadrons of "red cravats" bore down upon the ensconced foe. But victory was not thus easy. Waiting until the horsemen were almost near enough to leap over the slight breastworks, the quiet line of dingy grays suddenly sprang into life, planted their rebel flags almost within the reach of the bold troopers, and with their peculiar faint cheer delivered into our ranks a most destructive volley. Saddles were emptied; horses plunged in the struggles of death, and amid din and dust, conflict and confusion, vim and valor, the charge was over. The rebels remained in their old lines, and when the smoke and dust cleared from

the field Custer was reforming his lines and preparing to renew the strife.

Crook had already become engaged, and indeed had joined with two regiments from Davies's brigade in this dashing but unsuccessful charge of Custer. Crook now dismounted Gregg's brigade of his division, and sent them through a thick wood on the left to strike again the enemy's road. Gregg's was comparatively speaking a large brigade (though of not more than from 1,200 to 1,500 men effective), but composed entirely of Pennsylvania troops. They were reliable veterans; most of them armed with repeating carbines. Soon was heard old-fashioned volleys of infantry musketry, mingling with the sharp rings of the carbines. The strife now was in thick woods and at the very side of the coveted road; and the rebels found but a poor shelter in its adjoining rail fence. Nothing, however, could be seen, and as you listened to the mingling crash and din of small arms, it seemed that the dismounted troopers could scarce compete with such formidable infantry. But our men had started for the wagon train, and now seeing it were determined upon its capture. Soon, therefore, an aide-de-camp dashed back to General Crook with "General Gregg's compliments, sir, and his men are

burning the enemy's wagon train." "Tell him to push on, destroy all he can, and charge those rebels in flank and rear," briefly replied this quiet, thorough soldier, as he pointed to the colors along the rebel line which had just repulsed the charge of Custer. Gregg's mounted regiment in reserve (Twenty-first Pennsylvania Cavalry) eagerly rode out to obey the order.

The afternoon was now well-nigh spent. Sheridan on the south of Sailor's Creek had been heard from that he was driving the enemy before him. The guns of the Sixth corps had been booming louder and louder for the past hour or two, and now they approached. Nearer and nearer they drew, until there was not the slightest doubt of our complete success in that quarter of the field. The enemy was being pushed directly into the lines of the cavalry; and he must not be allowed to escape. Every cavalry soldier heard these guns, knew whence they came, saw the Rebels in front of him, and could not fail to appreciate our advantages. Our men therefore sat in their saddles with the most complete reliance and confidence, awaiting their generals' commands.

Crook's lines were formed on the left of Custer, with Davies's brigade for Crook's

right, mounted, and Gregg's on the left mostly dismounted, and among the enemy's burning train. There was no opportunity this time to ransack or pillage the burning wagons, and their contents were scarcely noted. Smith's brigade remained in reserve. Custer had only two brigades, under Wells and Pennington, Colonel Stagg being retained by Sheridan to demonstrate in the enemy's rear, as already mentioned. McKenzie's troops were also in the same quarter of the field. Devin's division, however, remained for a while as a reserve under Merritt both for Crook and Custer; but when it was seen he would be needed by neither, he was sent still further around to the left that he might again there engage the enemy, or intercept his fugitives.

These dispositions being completed, it was nearly sunset. The afternoon had been bright and clear, and while the cavalry were not able to see the infantry, yet the latter could see much of the maneuvers of the cavalry on the high ground over which part of the operations were conducted. The charges of Custer, although so far unsuccessful, were not without good results. They retained the serious attention of the enemy in his front, while proving to Wright and Sheridan that the cavalry had again found the en-

emy. In this connection it is curious to note that in the official report of Sheridan he mentions the fact of a soldier (William A. Richardson, of the Second Ohio) who had pierced the rebel lines in the first charge, miraculously escaped capture, penetrated them to the other side, and there informed his general of the true condition of affairs beyond him.

The sun was sinking in the west; scarce an hour of daylight yet remained. There had been skirmishing and fighting, and a close pursuit all day. But while it was a success, aside from the ordinary destroyed baggage, stragglers and other débris of a defeated and retreating army, nothing special had been gained. The present opportunities must be grasped, or night would seize them, and the morrow would then be but a repetition of to-day. The enemy in front of us must be completely broken; he must be destroyed or captured; and as the guns of the Sixth corps were now almost within range of those of the cavalry, it seemed a natural instinct to anticipate the orders for another charge. Aides-de-camp flew along the cavalry front, and quickly indicated to the different commanders the direction of their advance. Brigade officers dashed through their regiments, regiments gathered up their squad-

rons; and soon curving up and down the undulations of the open fields, hidden here and there by pretty little clumps of evergreen, the lines of Union troopers slowly and quietly advanced once more on the rebel line. Custer with his gay red and white headquarters pennant, and surrounded by a small staff, and orderlies bearing captured rebel colors, was on the right directing the movements of his two brigades under Wells and Pennington; and Crook on the left with a few orderlies, and his color-bearer carrying the plain blue flag of his division, moved among his troops under Smith and Davies. To Gregg was assigned the work of still pressing, dismounted, his advantages already gained. Thus four mounted brigades of cavalry, within sight of each other as well as the common foe, regularly and quietly walked towards him. It was grand and imposing; it was morally sublime; and I doubt not as each man grasped more tightly his saber, his arm was nerved with the righteousness of the cause and a consciousness of duty; while many a strong heart beat within those soldiers' bosoms as thoughts of mother, sister, sweetheart, wife, quickly rose and whispered of the prayers from the firesides at home. Yea, and who shall say that there were not in those brief

moments silent offerings to Him who giveth life and taketh it again away.

The spring flowers smiling coyishly through the grass were literally trodden under the iron hoof of war; they carpeted the fields for Sheridan's squadrons, but withal were passed unheeded. So began the charge. No wonder that when the hostile lines approached, the very sight shook the rebel center. One, two, then three, then little groups of men in gray were seen hurrying back from the light breastworks. This was enough. It was easy to see that now was the time. A bugle sounded, and as bugle after bugle echoed "the charge" along that line of cavalry, there was one grand jump to conflict. All was dust and confusion; horses and men fell dead across the rebel works. Every firearm might have been discharged, but on one side all was desperation, horror, and dismay, while on the other, confidence, enthusiasm, and victory. The rebel line was gone, and squads, companies, and regiments were flying over the hills. Horsemen were among them, and turned them back with empty arms as prisoners. Others more quickly sought for safety, by waving the white flag of surrender. Troopers in blue rode fearlessly and carelessly among a motley mob in gray, and re-

ceived their unceremonious surrender. All was excitement and irregularity; scarce an organized squadron could be seen. Meanwhile the guns of Wright's corps sent their missiles of destruction among both parties, and a heavy skirmish line appeared over the brow of the hill, intercepting the flying foe. A group of fugitive horsemen ahead of us suddenly halted, and then turned in another direction; then they hesitated again. Infantry on one side of them, cavalry on the other! Might they not pass between them? But it was too late. Their surrender was demanded, and Lieutenant-General Ewell, in command of Lee's most reliable corps, now the rear-guard of his army, with his staff became prisoners of war. Their captors turned them toward our lines, and soon this plain group in dingy gray, some of whose horses bore two riders, all poorly mounted and caparisoned, the leaders of a fallen foe, defeated, captured, with a disappointed, sad, and sullen sensation which a prisoner only can appreciate, were marched to the Union rear.

They had not all escaped the vandalism of the battle-field. Some of the party had been obliged to surrender their valuables to some unauthorized and venturesome "Yankee," and the vehemence of the contest, not yet

entirely over, led the captives to make repeated solicitations of those they met with for safe and honorable treatment. Seeing a Union officer at his side, one of the staff remarked: "This officer is a gentleman, sir; I know he is. I appeal to you, sir, for protection. My watch has been stolen." "That is to be regretted, sir; if it can be found, it shall be restored and the thief punished." Rider number two on some of the horses, being rather inconveniently seated between the saddle and the animal's tail, occasionally ventured an expression indicative of the unpleasant means of that species of locomotion; but with these exceptions, the party had little to say until General Custer and staff were encountered. Ewell expressed his satisfaction at having fallen into such hands, and begged that General Custer would cease hostilities there at once, that all Ewell's men would immediately surrender, especially if he could send an officer among them and so order them, for which he requested permission. Pointing to a part of the field where there was evidently a considerable force of the enemy yet assembled, with no means of escape, General Ewell entreated that they should be fought with no longer. They were his men, and he felt confident they would

surrender. While it was hardly likely that this request was a ruse to gain time for other maneuvers, this was possible, and Custer, being a subordinate, was unauthorized to stop the fight. The matter was soon put at rest, however, by Wright's infantry closing in upon all the men in question, and receiving their complete surrender.

The sun had by this time gone down; its lingering, sweeping rays had not seen the final conflict. The fields which all the afternoon had listened to the patter of small arms, and the sharp ring of rifled cannon, were now strewn with the thousand fresh evidences of a recent battle; while the booming of distant guns from other parts of the army tolled the knell of the fallen, and fitly harmonized with the dusky gloom of evening as it spread its foggy mantle over the scene. Here were the fields where all the afternoon Union squadrons formed and reformed for the charge; on these were now being gathered thousands and thousands of rebel prisoners; a little further off were light breastworks broken down here and there to show where squadrons entered; along these were scattered bleeding horses, wrecked artillery, ghastly human corpses; further on smoking ruins of burning baggage wagons—while for acres the grounds were strewn with

side-arms, muskets, and other tokens of defeat. There were hurrying stragglers, too, of either army. Union soldiers lost in the charge and rebels seeking present safety. But Crook was still pursuing; over hill and dale his squadrons pressed and fought the flying enemy, while Custer gathered up his little band, and darkness only ended that day's victory.

Not the least interesting feature of this battle was the completeness of the collapse of the rebel corps which fought it. From commanding general to the private soldier the sensation appeared to be the same. "We are lost and must make the best of it with our enemies." Dozens of men would surrender to a single "Yankee." When once the Union arms seemed entirely successful among the scattered rebels, the hope of escaping the present danger of battle and of partaking of rations with the victors, rose paramount to that of military duty and honor. There could now be no *esprit de corps*, for the corps itself was no more. It was the same old organization—although altered by the incessant changes of active campaigns—with which Jackson earlier in the war swept through the valleys of Virginia; or hurled in heavy masses against the sturdy, veteran Army of

the Potomac. Its history is one of valor, hardship, suffering, victory, tenacity, and final defeat. Its military discipline was most vigorous and exemplary, its confidence and self-reliance a pride and boast among its members, its bravery never questioned, its fortitude, endurance, and heroism worthy of the nation to which its men belonged, and against whose justice, beneficence and righteous power they most wickedly rebelled.

Illustrating the spirit prevailing at the close of this battle, and as one of many similar incidents doubtless never to be recorded, is the experience of an officer of General Crook's staff, Captain Cyrus S. Roberts, [now Brigadier General U. S. Army retired] who had joined in the grand final charge when his usually quiet general at the last moment enthusiastically ordered every one about him, officer or orderly, to join in the charge wherever he pleased. "Put everything in; now everybody go in," is an inspiring command seldom heard from the professional soldier, but always effective, never misunderstood. Joining then, the nearest squadron, this subordinate rode among the disordered foe who, throwing down their arms, hastened for safety into the Union lines. Never stopping, however, each trooper rode

hurriedly on to overtake and capture still more of the rebel fugitives. Our young officer, not a little enthusiastic, pushed on, supposing he was followed by others, when suddenly as his horse was jumping a ditch he encountered the fire of a well formed regiment of the enemy, which had either rallied or arrived from a different position of the field and had taken a favorable position to embarrass pursuit. Fortunately, just then the captain's horse missed his footing and with his rider fell into the ditch. The horse regained himself, but the regiment just then opening a heavy musketry fire, drove him back with all our pursuing soldiers. The young aide, however, was a veteran, and unharmed lay as if dead within a few feet of the enemy's line, while the paper and dust from their cartridges flew over and about him. Soon the fire ceased and the regiment moved away. The captain cautiously looking up perceived that he had ventured too far. Our men had all retired from that locality and a large group of rebels were retreating over the same path he had ridden. Quick as thought the little fellow sprang up and demanded their surrender, saying that they might as well surrender now to him as go any further, our cavalry was only beyond the hills and on the same road over

which they were marching, but surrender they must. So alone and unaided this Yankee marched twenty-five or thirty soldiers and their officers to a place of comparative safety. Raising then a white handkerchief from a commanding hill, he continued gathering the stragglers of the enemy, until when accidentally found by his staff comrade (the writer) he was the sole custodian, commander, and guard of more than fifty rebel soldiers with ten or a dozen of their officers; and he marched them in triumph to the bivouac of his general. So runs the excitement, the ever-varying chances of war.

Not the least among the noticeable features of this battle is the amusing behavior of mules under fire. In some of the brigades there were a large number of the soldiers mounted on these interesting animals who had been picked up about the country to supply the places of worn-out horses. Sometimes half of a regiment would be so mounted, and as they stood in the line awaiting the charge there was little in the demure countenances of these long-eared creatures to remind one of the "fiery steed" or the "mettled charger" which the license of the pen habituates to the battle-field. When a charge is sounded these undisciplined mules do not jump with

sympathetic inspiration at the first touch of the spur. With characteristic obstinacy they start slowly, and their speed is only increased with considerable difficulty and attentive chastisement. When once fairly under way, however, and dashing headlong forward in their jumping, kicking, native style, their riders need give them no further attention; the crowd rushes on, and each individual mule knows no master. So when a number of them were thus directed toward the enemy's line one of two things was inevitable: either, regardless of any obstacle, they would clear the slight breastworks, unless shot, and disappear in the rebel rear; or else, stopping suddenly, plant themselves in its front, with pricked-up ears, head most reverently lowered, and extended legs, assume a firm, defiant, and immovable attitude, which no other beast has ever attempted. In either of these cases their rider's chances of escape from capture or death are very indifferent, and none appreciate this fact better than the veterans. Therefore, when the mules had reached that pitch of obstinate excitement which knew no control, there was something indescribably laughable in the unique attempts of their riders to dismount under difficulties. While some risked their fate by

throwing themselves precipitately from the saddle, the animal going at full speed, others, more dexterous, quickly slipped along his back and down via his tail to the ground. When then one charge was repulsed, and a large number of these mules was seen returning with empty saddles, it was believed our loss must have been exceedingly severe. But shortly afterwards, covered with dust and dirt, and to the serious amusement of their comrades, the mule troopers straggled back from their perilous proximity to rebels. Mingled with the laughter of their more fortunate associates, long, loud, deep, and not a little profane were their wild execrations against "mule cavalry."

Among the results of this day's victory were the capture of six rebel generals—Ewell, Kershaw, Barton, Corse, De Barre, and Custis Lee—fourteen guns, many caissons, wagons, battle-flags, and several thousand prisoners. Of the latter it is impossible to learn the exact number; it will never be known. Commanding officers themselves never received reports of the number taken on that particular day, and their official estimates are only approximate. Certain it is, however, that several thousand were assembled that evening in the cavalry bivouac, while

many more, of course, were with other commands. In this interesting campaign the operations of one day followed so closely and were so united during the night to those of the next that it is difficult to say exactly what part of its grand movements and successes were accomplished in any one particular day. The complete results appear only at its conclusion.

"If the thing is pressed, I think Lee will surrender," says Sheridan in his official despatch to Grant at the close of the day. The next day Grant wrote first to Lee on the subject.*

* Note ; Official despatches concerning the marches and battles of April *Sixth* include the following :

"Cavalry Headquarters, Flat Creek, April 6, 1865. Lieutenant-General Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States. General : The enemy's trains are moving on the pike, through Deatonsville, in the direction of Burkeville Station. I am just getting ready to attack it ; I have notified General Ord.

P. H. SHERIDAN. Major-General Commanding."

"Jetersville, April 6, 1865—2.05 p. m. Major-General Sheridan : From this point General Humphreys' corps could be seen advancing over General Vaughn's farm. The enemy occupied that place two hours ago with artillery and infantry. Griffin is farther to the right and has been urged to push on. He is, no doubt, doing so. Wright is pushing out on the road you are on and will go in with a vim any place you dictate. Ord has sent two regiments out to Farmville to destroy the bridge, and is intrenching the balance of his command at Burke's Station. If your information makes it advisable for

him to move out notify him and he will do so. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"Cavalry Headquarters, April 6, 1865, Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States. General: I have the honor to report that the enemy made a stand at the intersection of the Burke's Station road with the road upon which they were retreating. I attacked them with two divisions of the Sixth Army Corps and routed them handsomely, making a connection with the cavalry. I am still pressing on with both cavalry and infantry. Up to the present time we have captured Generals Ewell, Kershaw, Barton, Corse, De Foe [Du Bose], and Custis Lee, several thousand prisoners, 14 pieces of artillery, with caissons, and a large number of wagons. *If the thing is pressed I think Lee will surrender.* P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General Commanding."

"Jetersville, April 6, 1865, Major-General Ord: The enemy evacuated Amelia last night or this morning, and are now apparently moving southwest to get on the Farmville and Danville road. The Second Corps moved from here towards Deatonville and have struck the flank of the enemy. The Fifth and Sixth Corps are moving parallel with the Second, the Fifth to the right of it and the Sixth to the left. The cavalry is still farther southwest. You will move out to intercept them, if possible, taking roads according to the information you may get, recollecting that the capture of the enemy is what we want. Mackenzie started to join you with the cavalry this morning. Let your provost-marshal or some one ascertain if there is any movement from Danville this way. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"Burkeville, April 6, 1865. Col. T. S. Bowers, City Point, Va.: The enemy left his position at Amelia Court-House during last night, and attempted to get to Danville by the roads west of this place. The cavalry, Second, Fifth and Sixth Corps lay in the vicinity of Jetersville ready to attack this morning had he not moved. Their position was admirable for attacking in flank. Accordingly, this morning these troops were moved out on roads nearly parallel, the cavalry and Sixth Corps on the left, the Second

in the center, and the Fifth on the right. The latter got upon the road after the enemy had passed, but pushed after him with great vigor, picked up many of the enemy's stragglers, and forced him to burn many of his wagons. All the others struck the enemy, but the country being open and roads numerous, have not, so far, made large captures of prisoners as I had hoped. They, however, forced the enemy to abandon much of his train, ammunition, etc., and are still pushing. General Gibbon, with Foster's and Turner's divisions, of the Twenty-fourth Corps, reached here last night, after a *march of twenty-eight miles for the day*. These troops were sent out to Farmville this afternoon, and, I am in hopes, will head off the enemy, and enable us to totally break up the Army of Northern Virginia. *The troops are all pushing now, though it is after night, and they have had no rest for more than one week.* The finest spirits prevail among the men and *I believe in three days more Lee will not have an army of 5,000 men to take out of Virginia, and no train of supplies.* I have just returned from the right. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"Headquarters Armies of the United States, City Point, April 6, 1865, 12 M. Lieutenant-General Grant: In the Field: Secretary Seward was thrown from his carriage yesterday and was seriously injured. This, with other matters, will take me to Washington soon. I was at Richmond yesterday and the day before, when and where Judge Campbell, who was with Messrs. Hunter and Stephens in February, called on me, and made such representations as induced me to put in his hands an informal paper, repeating the propositions in my letter of instructions to Mr. Seward, which you remember, and adding that if the war be now further persisted in by the rebels, confiscated property shall, at the least, bear the additional cost; and that confiscations shall be remitted to the people of any state which will now, promptly and in good faith, withdraw its troops and other support from resistance to the Government. Judge Campbell thought it not impossible that the rebel legislature of Virginia would do the latter if permitted, and accordingly I addressed a

private letter to General Weitzel, with permission for Judge Campbell to see it, telling him (General W.) that if they attempt this to permit and protect them, unless they attempt something hostile to the United States, in which case to give them notice and time to leave and arrest any remaining after such time. I do not think it very probable that anything will come of this, but I have thought best to notify you so that if you should see signs you may understand them. *From your recent despatches it seems that you are pretty effectually withdrawing the Virginia troops from opposition to the Government. Nothing I have done, or probably shall do, is to delay, hinder, or interfere with you in your work.*

A. LINCOLN."

CHAPTER VIII.*

Friday, April 7th, Grant wrote his first letter to Lee about surrendering.—The bivouac reveille.—Columns move to "pitch in."—Sheridan's fruitful detour.—Hard marching.—The operations stated.—A deplorable loss where General Reed was killed; and a reverse on Thursday near Rice's Station.—Farmville.—The situation there.—Lee's Headquarters.—The bridge afire.—The charge down hill.—The closed up town.—General Humphreys' splendid fighting.—Death of General Smythe.—Crook fording the river.—His attack on the enemy's wagon train.—A desperate encounter.—Our loss.—Brigade General Irwin Gregg falls a prisoner at the head of his command.—The column broken up.—Narrow escapes.—The retreat relieved.—Lord's battery.—Re-crossing the river.—A long night march.—The day's events summed up.—Some despatches.

LONG before dawn, the next morning (7th April) the cavalry bugles were echoing through the bivouacs a lively *réveille*, and everybody was astir. It was with cheerful, hopeful spirits that the sleepy soldiers obeyed the summons. They lit their little coffee-fires,

* The notes which comprise the preceding chapters were published by "Anchor," who edited them, in 1871 for the "Army and Navy Journal," and in pamphlet form from the same press. In 1884 they were republished at Edinburgh by the Clarendon Historical Society. In 1898 they again appeared in current numbers of the "Maine Bugle." Chapters VIII., to XII. inclusive appeared in the work issued by "Anchor" in 1885, entitled "La Royale." This

groomed and saddled their horses and *mules* (for the latter were now important members of "Sheridan's Cavalry"), rolled up their packs, breakfasted frugally on their salt meat and hard-tack, and at the first break of day only awaited the order to move.

latter work contained the following explanatory introduction by its editor :

"INTRODUCTORY. 'How entertaining Tremain's paper was ; it brought everything to a focus.'—Humphreys to De Peyster, Nov. 1, 1872. This pamphlet constitutes the Second Part of a Series of Memoranda hastily thrown together by General Tremain, who was aide-de-camp to General Crook, and was an eye-witness and actor in the scenes which he undertakes to record ; consequently they may be considered almost Notes of Occurrences, jotted down on the spot. General Tremain placed his manuscript—the majority written while in camp, about Washington, in the summer of 1865, on paper with superscription, "Headquarters District of Wilmington, N. C., 1865"—in my hands to revise, edit and publish, in 1871-2, and the first part, entitled, "The Closing Days About Richmond ; or, the Last Days of Sheridan's Cavalry," was printed under my supervision in a pamphlet for private circulation (brevier type, 66 pages), in 1873. A copy of this pamphlet was sent out to the Clarendon Historical Society, of Edinburgh, Scotland, of which I am an Honorary Member, and they deemed it of sufficient value to reprint it among their annual issues, in No. 13, January and February, and in No. 14, March and April, 1884.

To enhance the value of the work I have added some maps, which were prepared under the supervision of my dear deceased friend, Maj.-Gen. A. A. Humphreys (for over fifteen months Chief of Staff of the Army of the Potomac, and from the 24th November, 1864, to the close of the operations of the Army of the Potomac, in command of the combined

Any particular headquarters might be distinguished by a movable flagstaff, surmounted by a carriage lamp, planted in the ground before a fire rather more blazing than its neigh-

Second-Third Corps, which did the hardest work and fighting throughout the pursuit of Lee, and who, if he had been adequately supported and reinforced on the afternoon of 7th April, 1865, would have finished the campaign at Cumberland Church, near Farmville; whereas, not being so, the labors and losses dragged on, to be terminated less gloriously two days afterwards at Appomattox Court-House)—which maps were originally prepared for my own “*La Royale; or, the Grand Hunt of the Potomac*,” that appeared in eight numbers during the years 1872-73-74. I have also inserted a chapter on the battle of Cumberland Church or Heights of Farmville, and on Fording, together with some Notes, which have been added, chiefly in brackets ([]), on which great labor has been expended.

The original manuscript, written in great haste and amid difficulties, was so involved and nearly illegible in places that it had to be recopied before it could go into the hands of the printer. I not only read the copy with the original, but also compared the copy and proofs several times, in whole or in part, with the autograph. This labor of love was cheerfully undergone, because the Narrative contains facts which have never elsewhere been presented to the public.

As General Tremain is a cherished member of the old Third Corps, Army of the Potomac, this little work is affectionately dedicated to the Third Army Corps Union.

[Signed,] * J. WATTS DE PEYSTER. *

Honorary Member of the Clarendon Historical Society, Edinburgh, Scotland.

First Honorary Member, Third Army Corps Union.

Brevet Major-General, S. N. Y.

&c., &c., &c.

bors, around which a group of officers might be seen crawling from under their blankets, or making a hurried toilet; while just behind was a candle in a bottle candlestick, flickering upon some rude structure intended to serve as a table and showing a unique set of tin and crockery table furniture, no two of whose dishes belonged to the same set. Here was an army wagon backed almost upon the table, with its tailboard let down, exhibiting its load of tents, pots, kettles, valises, boxes, barrels and all such paraphernalia, waiting to be reinforced by the table and its contents. The hot coffee fumed in delicious fragrance over bright and burning rails, and was not unfrequently upset by some careless fellow as he moved around the fire at every change of wind to avoid the smoke; the ham and bacon, or tough beefsteak, if anybody was so fortunate as to have it, "sizzled" away in the frying-pan, while the cold, uninviting, huge plate of hard-tack announced to the general and staff that breakfast was ready. Some few might be able to find seats, but more usually was this simple, weird-like meal sleepily partaken of by all "standing and in silence." All was over by daylight. The hum of busy preparation was passed; a division general and staff quietly mount; the

bugles sound, "To horse!" "Forward!" the confused mass of horses and mules and men takes shape; and a column files out from among them to follow their leader.

Every soldier appreciated what the cavalry were to do to-day. In their comprehensive phraseology it was nothing else but to "pitch in." "If we could only once get the Rebs started," . . . they used to say in less encouraging times. But now they were really "started," and all were eager to keep them "on the wing."

In the cavalry operations of to-day it was intended that the immediate pursuit of the enemy should be resumed; that he should be attacked and harassed wherever found; and the subsequent movements of the day were to be determined by events. Crook's column was given the advance. Shortly after starting it, however, Sheridan learned that a command of General Ord (of the Army of the James) having, during the fight of the day before, met a strong and formidable line of the enemy on the railroad between Burkesville and Rice Station, had not been able to press far enough to prevent the possibility of Lee's escape by moving his main body around the left flank of Grant's armies, and thus get ahead of him on the road, south,

to Danville. Especially might this be attempted on the part of the enemy, as a good and wide road ran from Lee's bivouacs near Farmville through Prince Edward Court House in the very direction to assist such a movement. Fearing an attempt of this kind on the part of the Rebels, which, if successful, would undo all the strategic advantages of the day before, Sheridan divided his forces and sent General Merritt's corps to march around the rear of the Army of the James and to strike the road mentioned at Prince Edward Court House as soon as possible. Deeming this matter of the utmost importance Sheridan himself rode with this column, which constituted about two-thirds of his entire command—Custer's and Devin's Divisions.

I do not believe that Lee could have attempted any move of the nature indicated, with the shadow of success, especially with the deficiencies in his supply trains. Besides, he was much nearer Lynchburg than Danville, and had a better chance of reaching Lynchburg. He must have thought so then, for no move was made in the direction feared by Sheridan; and the long march of Merritt's corps on this day was without further incident than is afforded by uncer-

tain country roads and the passage of two or three deep and sluggish branches of the Appomattox—the Sandy river, the Bush river and the Briary river.

It should be added, however, that this move afterwards proved the best that could possibly be made for the main body of the cavalry, as it located them again on the extreme left flank of Grant's lines and placed Sheridan so as to be able to operate away from the entanglements of our infantry columns; while it situated him most favorably for that grand march of the day following (Saturday, 8th April,) when the enemy was intercepted, his last supplies captured, his reserve artillery parks attacked; and his army commanded (compelled?) to halt for the night, that Grant's infantry might march up and demand a surrender.

The main pursuit, then, by the cavalry, on the 7th of April, fell to General Crook's division, *the old cavalry Division that had wintered with the Army of the Potomac*. Soon after starting and marching in the direction the enemy had traveled, as indicated by the wreckage and remains of wagons, baggage, caissons, destroyed ammunition, clothing, documents and stragglers, Crook found that the gallant Humphreys, ever vigilant and

earnest, was already marching on his right with the veterans of the combined Second-Third Army Corps. Each had calculated upon marching by the same road; but, giving way to the infantry, the cavalry sought its way through the woods and across plantations, and neither column halted in the eager pursuit. It was a clear and glorious morning, and the sun seemed to smile in triumph over the beaten tracks and the abundant evidence of a defeated and flying foe.

The Lynchburg railroad between Rice's Station and Farmville, as may be seen by the map, curves like a siphon between the two stations, crossing the Appomattox river nearly equidistant from each, at High Bridge. Here is also a country bridge for ordinary vehicles. Thither Humphreys marched at once, hoping to overtake the enemy and effect captures before he could cross, and prevent, if possible, the destruction of this valuable structure. In this he was only partially successful, reaching the river just as the wagon bridge was being fired by the enemy's rear-guard, and while the second span of the railroad bridge was burning. The smaller bridge, fortunately, was secured, and Barlow's Division, having the advance, at once prepared to cross. The ground on both sides

of the river is high and affords most commanding positions; and on the opposite bank appeared a considerable force of the enemy, drawn up to oppose the passage, in a good position strengthened by redoubts. Artillery was posted to cover the attack and Barlow advanced. The enemy's skirmishers were quickly driven from the bridge and ten pieces of artillery captured from him in the works he abandoned on the north bank, while on the south side eight more pieces were taken. But the fort was blown up, and the Rebel column moved off without awaiting further attack.

Meanwhile Crook diverged from Humphreys to the left and west, marching by the most direct route towards Farmville, where the railroad again crosses the Appomattox and where in all probability important captures would be effected. Leaving the combined Second-Third Corps and crossing the railroad, two small tributaries to the Appomattox, the Sandy and Bush rivers, lay on his route. Reaching the former, Rebel cavalry appeared on the opposite bank, while a few men made a bungling attempt to fire the bridge. The infantry skirmishers of General Ord's column at the same time appeared. The enemy fled without a shot and all hands

went to work to put out the fire. Rather a difficult task for men provided with nothing more serviceable for this purpose than muskets and sabers. The bridge was high, too, and forty feet long; its beams were already burning. There were no pails there either; but the fire was put out. Exactly *how*, it is pretty difficult to tell; it did not take long either; but "where there is a will, there is a way," and *some* soldiers carried water in their hats. This was the vicinity of that terrible slaughter of the day before, where a detachment from the Army of the James, under General Reed, its adjutant-general, sought to march around the enemy's rear, reach High Bridge and destroy it and all the crossings of the Appomattox before the enemy had yet crossed it. But when near Sandy river they had marched into a snare. They found the enemy on all sides of them, as a "V," and out of the little picked brigade of about fifteen hundred men scarcely a third escaped. General Reed was killed, the colonel of his cavalry (the 4th Massachusetts) was seriously wounded, and all the command was killed, wounded, captured or scattered. The 116th and 123d Ohio were almost destroyed and the wonder of the sad affair is that any survived it.

This was the most serious reverse of the campaign, but fortunately did not in the least affect its results. But while the loss in life is deplorable, the dangerous character of the important service proposed, the enthusiasm which prompted and led the whole affair, and the fruitless gallantry and heroism of those engaged, command universal admiration. It was a part of war.

After crossing Sandy river, Crook soon again encountered Rebel cavalry, and some very sharp skirmishing continued for about a mile, until reaching the Bush river near its junction with the Appomattox, to which it is tributary. The road to Farmville, on which the column proceeded, here crossed this little stream by a country bridge within sight of High Bridge, and while Humphreys' operations were going on there, the Rebels also attempted to hold Crook in check until the bridge ahead of him should be destroyed. Here, too, the banks were steep, the bridge low, and the grounds on each side of it swampy and impracticable for cavalry. Smith's brigade was dismounted and, while skirmishing, the head of General Ord's infantry column arrived. The destruction of the bridge was prevented, and after some little delay in fighting and maneuvering the en-

emy retired with our advance close in pursuit, at about the same time that Humphreys crossed High Bridge. [Mark! the infantry were up with the cavalry! ANCHOR].

Taking now a short but rugged plantation by-way, the cavalry moved quickly towards Farmville, leaving the better and more common road on the left to the infantry following.

Farmville is a pretty little town nestling at the foot of its surrounding hills, in Prince Edward county, near the junction of the Buffalo with the Appomattox rivers, and before the war of about fifteen hundred inhabitants. It is old enough to look thoroughly Virginian, is the principal point on the railroad between Petersburg and Lynchburg, about sixty-eight miles W. S. W. from the latter. It is therefore an important tobacco depot and much of the weed was found stored here. During the war it has been the location of extensive work and repair shops. Ambulances, wagons and many other manufactures for army use were here made and repaired by the Confederates. Near the railroad depot there was a firm trestle bridge across the Appomattox, which is here *ordinarily not fordable* [error ?] [and "is navigable for batteaux from Farmville to its mouth" ANCHOR].

Arriving at the top of the cleared hills overlooking the town, the Rebels were found to be in occupation, with strong rear guards of cavalry to defend the neighboring heights. Fighting at once ensued and after an hour's heavy skirmishing, assisted greatly by Lord's battery of horse artillery, the enemy sullenly retired down the hills towards the town, when our men, suddenly emerging from the woods, found themselves on the brow of most commanding heights, in a most beautiful and open country, with Farmville at their feet. On the bridge over the Apomattox a train of cars was standing, while the fields on the opposite bank were black with a multitude of men. Who could these be? Humphreys, it was known, had crossed the river below, but he could not have marched the main body of his corps around there so quickly. It could not be the enemy. He must have known on which road we were marching, and it was not usual for him to treat us with such bad generalship as thus to expose a whole corps to destruction.

It was probably, then, some strong body, suddenly detached by Grant from one of the extremes of his army, and which had succeeded in forcing some extraordinary march. If so, good, for here was a considerable body

of Rebel cavalry intercepted. The sky had clouded over and the distance was too great to distinguish uniforms. Whoever they might be, there they were beneath us—one vast crowd of men, not resting in lines, but wandering in disorder over the field. They seemed completely under our control; their lives at our command. From the water's edge to the wooded brow of the hill beyond, they appeared a moving, restless mob. Now a few men were observed on the railroad bridge, and soon a little tuft of smoke puffs out from one of the cars; the wind fans it into a flame.

"They have not been able to get that train off the bridge," says one officer, "so they are burning it."

"No," replies somebody else, "it is our men destroying the bridge to prevent the Rebel cavalry down in the town from crossing and we will 'gobble up' the whole lot of them certain."

To open fire on them would surely entail a most fearful loss of life. To justify it there must not remain a single doubt that it is the enemy. If Rebels, every moment was precious to us.

Generals peered through their glasses and staff officers galloped off to find a negro citi-

zen or somebody who might decide the question, and thus passed several minutes of terrible uncertainty. We can wait no longer; it must be the enemy; at any rate it will soon be determined.

“Tell General Smith to charge down through the town,” was a simple order which now needed no further explanation; and “Train those guns on those men!” indicated that somebody would be hurt. The bursting flames and black heavy smoke arose from the railroad bridge. Helpless to prevent it and before our very eyes, almost under our feet, was the destruction now being completed. Two Napoleon guns were at once rolled to the brow of the hill and trained as if for a pleasure salute towards the mass of men on the low fields beyond the river. A shot was fired and in their very midst a shell exploded. Another quickly followed, and another, and another, as fast as two brass guns could be loaded and fired for a few rounds. Had there been here a few more guns, I doubt if many of those men would have escaped with their lives; as it was, they were powerless. What could they do? Not fight! They were infantry. A river was between us, and they were down on a plain under our guns, and their musket fire could not injure

us. So they quickly glided away. What were the actual casualties just at this particular time can never be known. General Lee himself was there, and under his personal direction a section of artillery was posted and answered to our fire. But its shots were wild and futile and were only laughed at by our officers.

The Rebels of course sought safety in flight; yet so great among them was the general demoralization of their forces and so worn out with continual marching and fighting of the campaign that many exhibited no desire for escape. *They seemed resigned to the chances of death or the sure fate of capture* and evinced much reluctance to retreat any further. So plain were the evidences of this fact that a mounted guard was seen to encircle the whole field with a full skirmish line and by force drive away the multitude of stragglers beyond the range of the guns now playing upon them. Such being the *morale* of an army no wonder the surrender of its remnants followed within forty-eight hours.

These troops proved to be of Anderson's corps and had retired on Farmville after the battles of the day before [6th]. Part of the army, however—as has already been seen—

retreated from [Little]—Sailor's Creek by way of High Bridge. Lee himself was with the former portion, which reached Farmville during the night, the troops crossing the river and bivouacking where they were first seen by the cavalry, while their venerated commander took up quarters in the town of Farmville. In the morning, fully appreciating the close pursuit and straitened circumstances of the Rebel army, many of the citizens had begged General Lee to remove his men from the vicinity of the town as soon as possible and thus avoid, perhaps, its entire destruction, which would be a likely consequence of any battle in the immediate neighborhood. *We shall presently see with how much consideration these inhabitants were treated by their rebellious countrymen.*

Meanwhile, Smith, with his gallant little brigade of the 1st Maine, 6th and 13th Ohio and 2d New York, had ridden down towards the edge of the town. There was no "masked" fighting here; no maneuver was hidden; the Rebels saw him coming and were prepared. It is common for historians to tell of bloody charges up to the deadly crest; how brilliantly and gallantly this command stormed a position; or that one scaled a height. But you do not often read of a

charge down hill, least of all such a *cavalry* charge. Yet here it was. Gen. Putnam, a name always revered by Americans, than whom [according to popular opinion] none bore a more honorable part in the nation's virgin war, accidentally helped himself to immortality by a John Gilpin escape down a flight of stone steps! Connecticut people to-day will take visitors to the field and, with no little pride, point out the hill and precise location of the now obliterated steps. Why may not Virginians do likewise? To be sure there are no stone steps there, but there might have been if rocks had been more plenty; and then this deficiency is compensated by numbers. In Connecticut only one warrior rode down hill in the defense of the nation; in this case there were a thousand patriots as true as any Putnam.

By this time the remainder of Crook's cavalry had come up and were marching into the town. Davies's brigade arriving as a support to Smith, had taken charge of the place, while the latter was pursuing the enemy to a safe distance and recalling and reforming his regiments. Guards and patrols were placed about the streets and, while the troops were passing through, the bands played, colors waved, and the soldiers were

filled with contentment and enthusiasm. But there was no answering sympathy among the people. Stores were shut up, houses closed, frightened women peeped through dilapidated doorways, sullen men lolled about the porches, obsequious and venerable negroes attempted to bow in respectful salutation to each individual soldier of the line, while others, less reverent, attired in such dazzling colors as their own or their former proprietor's limited wardrobe might afford, sauntered carelessly through the streets, as if they were celebrating a holiday and the arrival of the blessed Yankees, which they innocently believed bestowed, finally and forever, upon them that complete and practical freedom which their crude intelligence conceived as the only result of emancipation. ✓

The infantry of the Army of the James and the head of the Sixth Corps now appeared and massed on the neighboring hills, while Humphreys with his [combined] Second-Third Corps had pushed on after the retreating enemy from High Bridge on the *direct road to Lynchburg*, sending Barlow's Division, however, towards Farmville, as a matter of judicious precaution and to intercept any part of the enemy who might yet remain there. *This excellent disposition of*

Humphreys greatly accelerated the retirement of Lee's forces from Farmville and its vicinity, and a large portion of them narrowly escaped capture. Barlow had considerable skirmishing, but the enemy was well posted on commanding hills and was enabled to check an advance until his main body, from Farmville, had retired well on the road before him. Barlow's attacks, however, more than annoyed the enemy. In abandoning the town and its environs the Rebels were compelled to burn about one hundred and thirty of his wagons, which he was unable to get away. Retiring, then, before Humphreys' main column, as well as Barlow's detachment, the enemy fell back to a well-chosen position, some four or five [three] miles from Farmville.

During these operations, Brigadier-General Symthe, commanding one of General Barlow's brigades, a gallant young officer who had risen rapidly in the service and whose Irish extraction had only added notoriety to a well-earned reputation, was mortally wounded while conducting in person the operations of his skirmish line. General Humphreys mentions in his official report that the fall of General Smythe "led to the loss of some part of our skirmish line." It

is claimed that he was the last Union officer killed in the war. [But let it not be forgotten that Maj.-Gen. Gershom Mott, of New Jersey, who commanded the Third Division (representing all that remained of the Old Third Corps) of the combined Second and Third Corps, had been severely wounded the preceding day, 6th April.]

Marching through Farmville, Crook's cavalry sought to ford across the Appomattox, and by a slow and tedious crossing, over a deep and difficult ford, succeeded in the course of the afternoon in forming itself for further operations on the other side. Barlow's Division was here met, and after a short deliberation between the generals, the advance was continued by General Crook, while Barlow moved off further to the right to rejoin the main body of his corps. The Sixth Corps was visible on the hills to the south of the river and it *was supposed that they would cross at once and follow the cavalry*. The difficulties in crossing infantry, however, and the destruction of the bridges prevented, and they occupied the afternoon in preparing a suitable bridge. This was not accomplished until after dark, so that no further operations took place during the afternoon of the 7th [April] in the

immediate vicinity of the enemy, except the attacks upon him of Generals Humphreys and Crook.

The road to Lynchburg from High Bridge was the main road of that section of the country, and over this it was now quite evident that Lee with his main body was retreating. The principal part of Humphreys' Corps was following on the same road. This road, however, was intercepted by two nearly parallel roads from Farmville, which were also the main routes for country travel from the latter town to Lynchburg. On one of these Barlow moved, and again, about dark, established himself in connection with the remainder of his corps; while on the other road and a mile or two further to the left [west] Crook marched with his cavalry division, *hoping to intercept the trains or at least some part of the forces* whom the Second Corps was pursuing. Four or five miles [3] north of Farmville, near where the two roads above spoken of unite, General Humphreys found the enemy *strongly entrenched*, covering both these roads, known as the Stage and Plank roads. This Rebel force were posted apparently with the purpose of remaining here and resisting all attacks, until the trains, whose movements it was thus covering, should

be well out of the way. General Humphreys at once formed his troops for attack, advanced his skirmishers, and developed the position of the enemy in his front to be one naturally strong and *well entrenched*. They had chosen the crest of a hill which gradually sloped off in front over open ground, well swept by artillery, leaving no opportunity for a front attack. A flank maneuver was attempted, but the Rebel line was found to extend far beyond our own. General Humphreys having as yet only two divisions with him, and finding so strong a portion of Lee's army thus posted in the front—indeed the indications were that it was the main portion of the Rebel army—occupied himself with watching and maneuvering until Barlow's division, which was now ordered up, could arrive. Not being aware of the difficulties of crossing the river, at this time, at Farmville, owing to the destruction of the bridge, General Humphreys in sending information of his own situation to General Meade, naturally suggested that an attack should be made at once by troops—the Sixth Corps, for instance—from the direction of Farmville. *The suggestion, however, proved unavailing.*

General Humphreys with his combined Second-Third Corps deployed in the immedi-

ate front of the enemy; and just at this time the only portion of Grant's army halted and so situated, awaited with appropriate demonstrations the arrival of General Barlow's division before any more serious attack should be made. While doing so, however, he heard firing from the direction of Farmville and supposed that the Sixth Corps had attacked the enemy, as he had suggested to General Meade. He at once ordered an attack on his extreme right with a part of General Miles's division. This was made by three regiments from the First Brigade, General Ramsey's; but it was unsuccessful and resulted in considerable loss. The enemy had not reduced his strength in his front, nor had he yet given Humphreys an opportunity to turn his flank. But the firing heard by Humphreys did not proceed from an attack of the Sixth Corps, as he had presumed, that command not having yet crossed the river. It resulted from an engagement between the enemy and General Crook's cavalry, and this affair is, perhaps, more distinctly than any other in that vicinity, entitled to be known as the *Battle of Farmville*. To be sure, there was a kind of a battle at Farmville in the morning, when the charges were made, and constant smaller engagements in its im-

mediate neighborhood had been going on all day. But this particular contest can be described separately; it had a well-defined beginning and end, and enjoyed a complete entirety unusual to combats between the opposing forces in a running campaign. It deserves a little narrative of its own.

Crook's cavalry, having crossed the river and formed, took up the line of march along the Old Plank road and moved without encountering any enemy directly towards the right flank and rear of the Rebels, whose center and left were in front of Humphreys.

The fording of a stream by a cavalry column is an occasion of very general interest and amusement. In the first place it usually affords an excellent opportunity for refreshing the animals without any delay, while the fresh rippling of the waters seems to stir up the dry jokes among the soldiers. The boys, too, have a keen sense of the ludicrous and find no little enjoyment in the various mishaps of their comrades in the middle of the stream. The efforts of a "pack train" are especially amusing. The "pack train" of a column beggars description. It generally contains more mules than horses, and often more contrabands than either. It takes the place of wagons, and is intended to

consist of extra-horses and animals of burden, carrying rations and blankets, officers' and pack-horse feed. Practically it is a sort of "*omnium gatherum*" of all the little necessary traps used in camp and bivouac comprising a column which, when marching, stretches out to the length of a regiment wherein every man rides one animal and pulls another half way alongside of him, in vain attempts to lead him in the way he should go—both creatures stepping to the flapping music of loose dishes and hard-tack, as improvised paniers shake at every trot their unmentionable contents. When equipped and ready for the move, the demure mule, who usually bears the heavy packs, stands before you in his natural plaintive attitude, betokening compulsory submission to two large champagne-baskets or cracker-boxes strapped tightly to his sides, while on the top of his back are huge piles of brown blankets, shelter tents, tent flies, india rubber ponchos, and massive bags of corn or oats. On top of this, indeed, will often be fastened an extra camp chair or two, a valise, a tin wash basin, iron coffee kettle, a venerable looking ax, spade, and hatchets, with sometimes an extra saddle or two. Indeed, a roll of hay or corn-fodder sometimes surmounts all this, and not un-

frequently is a poor animal so completely hidden with his burden that head, tail, legs and ears appear as only the animate protuberances of a concentration of stable, kitchen and household-ware. Overcome with such weighty embarrassments, it will easily be seen why pulling at the halter of laden animals is a greater inducement for him to attempt an elongation of the neck than to accept the earnest tugs at his head as a pressing invitation to speedy locomotion. Encumbrances of this character require considerable care in their adjustment, and, unless well-secured, accidents often occur; so that it is not unusual in crossing a stream to observe an unexpected stumble of a faithful mule cause his unevenly balanced burden to describe a graceful evolution from the back and poise itself beneath the animal in a position more interesting than convenient. Should the water be deep and the current swift, some hungry shivering officer mourns the following night the loss of his bivouac *Penates*.

When General Crook's column was again on the march after crossing the stream, Gen. Irwin Gregg's brigade was in advance, followed closely by the brigades of Davies and of Smith and by Lord's Battery. Light showers had lain the dust, and the brilliant successes of

the morning added to the zeal which inspired the troops. There were no signs of an enemy visible, and officers and soldiers rode quietly and carelessly along, discussing incidents of the day and the prospects of the pursuit. The road lay through cultivated farms, fine timber, and was lined with well-built fences, an item always noted by campaigners. After a march of two or three miles or less, a wagon train was discovered moving in the direction of Lynchburg and cutting across the road on which Crook was traveling. The white covers of the wagons were partially screened by the woods, yet nothing more than a picket guard appeared to intervene. At the same moment a column of Rebel cavalry was espied moving with the train. Without a moment's delay the advance regiment under Colonel Young. (4th Pennsylvania Cavalry) charged down the road, severing the enemy's column and attacking his train. The success bid fair to be speedy and complete, but before one brigade could deploy, the Rebel cavalry, comprising in all about two brigades, quickly rallied under cover of the hills, one to the right of the road and one to the left. Galantly charging, they enclosed Gregg's column on the narrow road in a perfect V. There was little chance to fight, and the high fences

on each side prevented countercharges. While our first attack had thus been sudden and without resistance, the return of the compliment was now impetuous and irresistible. To retreat was to expose the whole column to utter disorganization, by turning in its head upon itself. Pistols and carbines at short range was the order of things. Sabers might have been used but for the fences, and before they could be removed, the inimitable "pack train" decided the present issues, sustaining their general reputation in the army of never being on hand when wanted and always being where they were not wanted. By some mishap a portion of one ✓ had fallen into the column, not far from its head. The result was that the contrabands, mules, and all the various camp-paraphernalia thereunto appertaining, were not just at this unfortunate moment in a situation appropriate to non-combatants. They found themselves in plain view of more Rebel cavalry than they had any reason to believe existed in the entire Confederacy, and, with that quick appreciation of danger so characteristic of non-combatants, the conclusion was speedily arrived at that masterly inactivity was not then and there entirely appropriate.

Thus, seriously exposed to the fire of the

Rebels, retreat was instantly determined upon, and extra horses, beasts of burden, lazy mules, and frightened contrabands united, suddenly, in one glorious charge, invincible—but, to the rear. The same impetuosity of this handful of animals, if propelled in the other direction, must certainly have seriously damaged any foe with which they came in contact. As it was, dashing head-long down the narrow lane, they carried to the rear everything before them. Regiments calmly marching forward to their places, suddenly found themselves completely broken by a contagious panic, while the pack animals and their leaders flew on as if messengers of destruction. Of course, these things seriously interfered with the formation of the troops, as well as with their *morale*, while the Rebels, appreciating the advantage, pressed on and doubled the head of the column completely back upon itself. The First Brigade was entirely broken up and its commander, Brevet Brig.-Gen. Irwin Gregg, was fence-cornered and taken prisoner in the mêlée while attempting to reform his men. General Crook also narrowly escaped capture. The rout at this time bid fair to be complete; but the next brigade (the First, under General Davies) at this time coming up and

meeting the retreating and pursued forces, where the country was more open, quickly formed and checked the enemy. Broken up by the countercharge, while the enemy rallied for another, a line of battle was quickly assumed, with Davies on the right of the road and what was rallied of Gregg's Brigade under Colonel Young on the left. Lord's battery was posted to command all parts of the field and Smith's Brigade held in reserve. Prisoners taken now brought out the fact that Crook's advance, in attacking the enemy's wagon train, had actually ridden into the lines of a large force of infantry belonging to Anderson's corps, and that this corps was now posted in our front under cover of the *dense woods*. Further attacks on our part were just then and yet unadvisable. The Rebels, too, relieved us of the responsibility by again advancing their cavalry to the attack. When cavalry fight cavalry, both will naturally choose open country, and, probably, there are no more really exciting scenes in war than to witness the charges and countercharges of cavalry. This was one of them. Every movement of the Rebels here was plainly visible, and the gallantry with which the colors were waved in the advance, urging forward the reluctant, displayed a spirit

worthy of a better cause, and told more plainly than South Carolina bombast that the old *elan* and military ardor was not yet lost in the retreating army. The moral effect of the few artillery shots that were now fired by Lord's Battery was instantly perceived. Well directed and effective, the "rude throats" of these mortal enemies spoke in loud tones of warning, and, after one or two unsuccessful attacks, no further aggressions were attempted on our lines. The skillful operation and maneuver of General Humphreys about the same time seriously aided in producing this effect.

There was no other road leading to Lynchburg on this [the north or left] side of the river, except the one in use by the enemy, and General Crook remained in his position until he could hear from his superiors. Before Sheridan, who was now at Prince Edward Court House, could be heard from, it was after sunset. Meanwhile General Grant had arrived at Farmville [see collection of telegrams and Despatches, collated and appended] and had ordered General Crook's division to recross the river, and to march towards Lynchburg by the nearest route, south of the river, along the railroad, and to halt at Prospect Station. The cavalry, therefore,

recrossed the Appomattox, marched again through the town, and arrived about midnight without further incident at its destination.

This evening had given quite a new appearance to the quiet little town of Farmville. The country about it became one vast bivouac for the Army of the James and the Sixth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, while the fields were filled with parks of artillery and wagon trains. Eligible houses on the outskirts of the town were occupied as various headquarters, at some of which the sweet strains of serenade softened the asperity of war, subduing the boisterous groups about the bivouac fires. Many a weary soldier after a tedious day march gazed musingly into the curling flames of his camp fire, and was carried back to comfortable homes, cherished voices and loving faces, as the night breezes wafted over the fields the notes of a familiar selection. With the twinkling stars unhidden, the blazing, crackling rails, the little cup of "sizzling" coffee, the steady tramp of the sentry, the dim outlines of tents and wagon covers, the "munching" of the animals, the otherwise hushed quiet of the sleeping camp about him, the soldier muses on the day gone by and conjectures the changes of the morrow.

Who—but those have once experienced it—can tell the effect, with this weird scene, of the solemn strains of the *Miserere*, the wild notes of *Robert le Diable*, the voluptuous serenade from *Ernani*? Who, then, will taunt military music as a superfluous expense, as only the “pomp and circumstance of glorious war!” None know better than commanders the silent potent influence of the “Bands.”

Near Prospect Station several roads crossed the railroad leading south in the direction of Danville from the roads on which Lee was known to be moving. Apprehensive that by these means the Rebel general might even yet make an attempt to change the direction of his retreat towards Danville, Sheridan, on his arrival at Prince Edward Court House, sent McKenzie with his cavalry to cross the Buffalo river, and to make a reconnoissance to Prospect Station. This was accomplished by the latter without meeting anything but stragglers from the enemy. McKenzie had scarcely been gone half an hour from the station, when the head of General Crook's column arrived there, and at once went into camp. The station house was filled with tobacco, and the only other building in the locality seemed to be occupied by a “lone widow,” her children and servants. It has

been amazing how many "widders" the Yankees found in the Confederacy. This particular one had a story a little different from many others. "She did not know"—on inquiry—"where her husband was." "Had she a husband at all?" "Yes, she *did* have one!" "Well, what had become of him, then?" "She didn't know; he went down the road one day to get some rations, and she never had heard of him since. This was some months ago, and she supposed now *that he had been cut off.*"

Arriving at Prospect Station, it was a little difficult to learn from the intelligent contrabands whether a column of Lee's army had passed that point or not. So great had been the number of Rebel stragglers that they were by many mistaken for regular organizations of regiments and brigades on the march. This may account somewhat for the reports brought to Sheridan's headquarters, by scouts and others, that part of the enemy were believed to be moving towards Danville. The country over which we were now operating had not before been visited by large bodies of soldiers, and the simple inhabitants were deceived by the squads and crowds of stragglers which traveled every road. Many of these soldiers were accompanied by their line

officers, and with most the conclusion had been arrived at that the war was now about finished.

The operations of the 7th of April, of the tenth day of the campaign [the "Last Hunt,"] may be summed up in brief to be the close pursuit of Lee's army from daylight until dark for about the distance of fifteen miles, during which skirmishes had taken place at the crossing of every creek, the Sandy river, Bush river, High Bridge, Farmville, and again a few miles beyond. The loss of the enemy was nineteen pieces of artillery and the destruction of about one hundred and thirty wagons of their train, and this was inflicted by the combined Second-Third Corps alone. The loss, also, of the stores, machinery and material at Farmville was not inconsiderable. No accurate mention can be made of the number of prisoners taken during the day, or the number of stragglers induced away from their commands by the vigor of the pursuit. Among the Rebel generals known to have been severely wounded, was Brigadier-General Lewis, commandant of a brigade in Walker's division, Gordon's corps, who fell into our hands. The loss on our part was principally in the combined Second-Third Corps, al-

though Crook's cavalry also lost quite heavily. Humphreys loss was six [five] hundred and seventy-one in killed and wounded [since he started on this hunt; how many on the 7th has never been separately stated. This statement (if erroneous) originated with William Swinton. As soon as one wolf howls, the pack, without cause, will join in a chorus of discord; so it has been in this matter. ANCHOR.] Probably one thousand is a large estimate for Grant's entire loss; among the officers were Brigadier-General Smythe, mortally wounded, and Brevet Brig.-Gen. John I. [not the famous David McGregor Gregg,] taken prisoner.

General Gregg, it will be remembered, was captured in the heat of battle near Farmville, on the 7th, P.M., and at the same time his watch, pocket-book and valuables demanded of him as the price of his life, a threat which could have easily been enforced, and his death charged to the general conflict. Discretion, however, was the better part of valor, and two days afterwards General Gregg was released, his captors being themselves captured at the surrender with the army.

The movements during the day of the various corps* under General Grant may be

* See note at end of this Chapter,

easily traced on the map. The combined Second-Third Corps moved from Sailors' Creek across the Appomattox, via High Bridge, to Farmville, and about five miles beyond on the Lynchburg road. The Sixth Corps, direct from the battlefield of Little Sailors' Creek, via Rice's Station, to Farmville. General Ord's column of the Army of the James also moved from its position near Rice's Station direct on Farmville. The Fifth Corps, which was early in the morning near the combined Second-Third, followed the latter corps to High Bridge, when it moved directly across the rear of the army, from its extreme right to its extreme left, and halted for the night at Prince Edward Court House. Thither also Sheridan had moved Merritt's cavalry corps, via Rice's Station, from [Little] Sailors' Creek. Crook's wing of cavalry moved in the front and center of the army, on the left of the combined Second-Third Corps; but after crossing the river at Farmville, recrossed again and encamped about midnight at Prospect Station. To the latter point McKenzie's cavalry also had made a reconnoissance from Prince Edward Court House. No indications, however, had yet appeared that Lee was disposed to attempt a retreat

on Danville. His object seemed to be to get out of Grant's way by the most available routes, without paying any special attention to their general direction. Lee, too, was out of rations, and the account of the operations of 8th April will indicate his prospects as to a retreat towards Lynchburg and how they were baffled.

A last, but a most important item of to-day's results are the two little notes which passed between the commanders of the opposing forces, beginning the correspondence which terminated the contest. General Grant's first letter was written on this day, wherein he expresses his conviction that the result of the last week must convince General Lee "of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle." He regards it, therefore, as his duty to shift from himself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking the surrender of his enemy. An interesting preface to this note—perhaps its inspiration—is read in a despatch from General Sheridan, dated the previous evening, 6th April, 11.15, P. M., and reporting his engagement of that day. This characteristic despatch tersely concludes, "If the thing is pressed, I think Lee will surren-

der." The "thing" was "pressed," and Lee did surrender. Lee replied to General Grant's note under the same date, reciprocating the "desire to avoid useless effusion of blood." But General Grant did not receive this answer until the following morning 8th. [Be it remembered in this connection that all the correspondence, to and fro, of the 7th and 8th, passed through the lines of the combined Second-Third Corps under Humphreys, who alone was persistently pressing and almost the whole time in contact or treading on the very heels of Lee, on the 6th 7th, 8th and 9th, and ready, with the help of the Sixth Corps, to demolish him on the 9th. Had the Sixth Corps reinforced Humphreys on the 7th (so has he often declared by letter and in conversation) it would have been done at Cumberland Church, on the 7th. ANCHOR.]

NOTE. The movements spoken of maybe outlined from the following despatches:

"Farmville April 7, 1865. Major-General Sheridan: The Second Corps and Crook's cavalry are north of the river at this place. I have no report yet of appearances in their front, but hear contradictory reports—one, that Lee is going to Maysville [Marysville]; another, that he will strike south by roads farther up the river. Think on the whole, you had better throw your cavalry up the river toward Chickentown to watch the different crossings. The Twenty-fourth corps will move up the south bank of the river. Just as this was written some of our men who were captured last night have returned.

They state that just as they left about 1,000 cavalry were thrown out toward the crossings above here. You may be able to get in the rear of the enemy possibly. It is reported among the citizens here that Lynchburg was evacuated last night. I do not doubt but Stoneman is there. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"Cavalry Headquarters, April, 7, 1865-6.45 p. m. Lieutenant-Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States. General: On arriving at Prince Edward Court-House this p. m. I sent Mackenzie's division of cavalry to Prospect Station on the Lynchburg railroad. His advance should have reached there before this. I am following with the First and Third Cavalry Divisions and will reach the vicinity of Prospect Station to-night if I do not go to Chicken-town. Very respectfully, P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General, U. S. Army, Commanding."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Prospect Station, April 7, 1865. Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States. General: I am moving the cavalry column on Appomattox Depot. There are eight trains of cars at that point to supply Lee's army. Everything is being run out of Lynchburg toward Danville. Our troops are reported at Liberty. This must be Stoneman. One of my scouts reports this. Possibly it may not be true. Very respectfully, General, your obedient servant, P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General, U. S. Army, Commanding."

"Farmville, April 7, 1865. Major-General Sheridan: The Second and Sixth Corps will press the enemy's rear to-morrow on the north side of the river, the Sixth Corps keeping in next to the river. The Fifth and Twenty-fourth corps will push up by Prospect Station, and will be ready to turn upon enemy at any time. I will move my headquarters up by the south bank in the morning. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

CHAPTER IX.

Saturday, April 8th, and its marches and developments.—The railroad trains of rations.—Their capture.—The night battle at Appomattox Station.—Lee outmarched.—Custer's energy and sagacity.—Devin's stolid assistance.—They "win out."—A call for locomotive engineers.—They appear and run the captured trains into the Union lines.—A struggle for the Lynchburg Pike.—Twenty-five guns and two hundred wagons captured in the darkness.—Sanguinary struggle.—Sad losses.—Record breaking.—Night marches of infantry.—Some despatches.

STEP by step we have marched over the great eleven days' campaign, and now we come to the last day of its continuance. The record of April 8th will be unusually dull and without brilliancy; yet, it was on this day that the marches and masterly movements were made, which the next morning brought at bay the Grand Army of Northern Virginia, checked its fruitless attempts at escape, repelled its assaults, doubled it back upon itself, and encircled the proud and weary host with a final "anaconda." April 8th was the day and the night when legs usurped the rights of valor, and fleetness, plus impetuosity, won the victory.* It is curious under these circum-

* See notes at the end of this Chapter IX,

stances that the operations of the Army of the Potomac for this day should be officially detailed in two lines; but official reports should be brief. General Meade's is especially so in this instance; his account of this day's movements being contained in the remark, that "the next day, April 8th, the pursuit was continued on the Lynchburg Stage Road."

From the position of Grant's forces the night before, of course, the combined Second-Third Corps had the advance, and took up the direct pursuit. Lee had encamped for the night along "the Stage Road," just mentioned, many of his troops extending south as far as the Appomattox river. The camp fires of his numerous stragglers spread his forces out in every direction, but the main body rested a considerable distance beyond the advance of the combined Second-Third Corps; so that when Humphreys resumed his march, on the morning of the 8th, he did not come up with the enemy for several hours. Lee's march, however, could not have been perfectly serene. Four pieces of artillery were abandoned, the usual rubbish cast away by encumbered troops and wagon trains still lined the roads. After a march of nearly fifteen miles, at New Store, the combined

Second-Third Corps came up with the enemy's cavalry pickets. The corps had but the road to march on, and in his report Humfrey says that "a halt was made of about two hours at sunset, when the march was resumed with the object of coming up with the main force of the enemy; but, finding no probability of doing so during the night, and the men being much exhausted from want of food and from fatigue, the head of the column was halted at midnight. The rear did not get up until morning, and the supply train of two days' rations later." Thus did the combined Second-Third Corps pass the day.

Following the combined Second-Third was the Sixth Corps, which during the night had constructed such a bridge over the Appomattox at Farmville as answered the present purposes. The Sixth, therefore, played no important part during the day [but might have played the most important, if they had improvised a bridge on the 7th, and hurried across to the support of the combined Second-Third Corps. ANCHOR.]

On the south side of the river, by the same route used by Crook's cavalry the night before, General Ord's command moved from Farmville along the railroad towards Lynchburg, followed by the Fifth Corps under Gen-

eral Griffin. These movements were under the personal direction of the Lieutenant-General, as the following brief dispatch, written on the evening of April 7, will show, while, at the same time, it illustrates General Grant's judicious generalship in seizing the opportune moment, and giving to his subordinates orders for their guidance too explicit and direct to admit of any mistake or modification.

[If this book expressed ANCHOR's sentiments, the preceding sentence would be obliterated and quite another substituted. ANCHOR.]

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
FARMVILLE, April 7th, 1865.

GENERAL MEADE.

Order the Fifth Corps to follow the Twenty-fourth, at 6 A. M., up the Lynchburg road, the Second and Sixth to follow the enemy north of the river.

[Signed], U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General.

Here was the program for the infantry. Brief and complete, it offers another explanation to the harmony and success of the campaign. The vigilance of the Lieutenant-General suffered nothing to escape him, and

On this occasion he himself arranged the details for the march of his armies, lest another such mistake [Whose? Grant's! that of nobody else. Meade, in this case was blameless, but saddled with the blunder. ANCHOR] as that after the battle of Jetersville might again give him a few hours and golden opportunity.

Sheridan, with the cavalry of Merritt and McKenzie, resumed the march at daylight from Prince Edward Court House direct to Prospect Station, where General Crook awaited his arrival. West of this point the railroad makes a considerable bend to the southward. The cavalry moved to the west, therefore, in two columns, one along the railroad, and one by roads further to the north; Merritt's corps taking the latter, with his two divisions, under Custer and Devin, moving for a while parallel to each other, while Crook's wing marched along the railroad.

This order of march placed the latter more distant from the enemy, and left General Merritt to manage affairs in their immediate vicinity. Although the Rebels were supposed to be moving on the Lynchburg Pike, yet, early in the day, little had been heard of them. Custer, however, whose division was nearest to this road, began soon to gather in quite a

number of stragglers, and, from all he could learn, deemed it of great importance that his march should be prosecuted with every diligence. Hence he arrived first at the point where his road was crossed by the one over which Devin was marching, and, therefore, assumed the responsibility of continuing his progress, although the advance to-day properly belonged to Devin's (First) Division.

(In explanation,—It was a custom in most parts of the Union Army, in forming the daily program for march, to assign the advance to the various commands in regular rotation.)

Sheridan himself accompanied the former [Custer]. The cavalry were followed on these routes by the Fifth and Twenty-fourth Corps. The march continued during the greater part of day, without any more special interest than would be awakened by the reception of a great variety of reports from the different sections of country through which the column was marching. The large number of stragglers from Lee's army, who had been seen in some quarters, completely deceived the people. They had scarcely any definite idea as to the whereabouts of the Rebel army. Some thought that it had gone towards Danville, others that it was pretty well dispersed,

and all united in confirming the broken spirits of its soldiers. Some of the simple people, when asked what would be done, now that Richmond had fallen, rejoined with an expression of the most implicit confidence in General Lee. Two elderly ladies strolled quietly into the lines during one of the short halts, and, calling an officer aside, one cautiously remarked that she "didn't 'zactly know, but she didn't see how they could fight any more now, nohow. Fact is," she added, in a much more confidential manner, and with a significant nod towards her companion, indicative of a suspicion that she might betray her, "they won't fight any more; they'll surrender. I think they'll really surrender." It is almost useless to say that the old lady at once became a favorite, although the veterans of the Army of the Potomac could scarcely credit the belief that their antagonist, for so long a time at the head of the Rebel army, should, under any circumstances, succumb thus early in the usual spring campaign.

At Pamplin's Station, about eight miles from Prospect, were found some cars and disabled locomotives, while in the depot were stored sorghum and some boxes of fine new Springfield muskets. Meanwhile, Sheridan had learned through his ubiquitous scouts,

that at Appomattox Station, about ten miles beyond, there were four trains of cars laden with commissary stores and supplies of various kinds for the Rebel army; and the cavalry pressed on with more vigor. It was a long day's march with but one short halt. While nothing had been seen of the enemy, a brush, more or less serious was, of course, anticipated when the trains should be reached. Of course a considerable force of Lee's army must, by this time, have reached that vicinity. It could scarcely be possible that Sheridan was completely in their advance; and I do not think I am wrong in stating it as the general anticipation that, on encountering the force in the neighborhood of this new depot, we would be in the very midst of a large camp of the enemy.

In reply to Custer's despatches to Sheridan, reporting his progress and observations, the latter replied that, "if those trains can be taken work enough will be done for one day." But this was not the end of this day's work.

Lee was more than weakened. His army was retreating, where, or for what good purpose, who could tell. The Confederate capital had fallen and its President taken flight. Defeat and demoralization had dispersed the

Army of Northern Virginia. Officers had told their men that they might as well go home now, everything was lost. Many arms had been thrown away; artillery by batteries and wagons by hundreds abandoned, burned. Every calculation during the campaign for the supply of his commissariat had been thwarted. The fall of Richmond, although perhaps anticipated and partially provided for, was sudden and premature. There was no opportunity to care for the preservation of the immense stores there, so necessary but now lost to the supply of Lee's army. Rebel officers were fond of inveighing against the Confederate authorities for the large amount of stores abandoned in Richmond. They might better, it was thought, have been given away to the soldiers and to the needy in the city, rather than to have been destroyed. Quantities of coffee, flour and sugar were found there. It was a long and harassing march by night and by day, with skirmishes, and without the best of roads, from Petersburg, on its fall, on the 2d, to the Danville railroad, which was reached two days afterwards. But here the supplies expected and so confidently telegraphed for were cut off and Lee detained to watch and to fight. Again he pushed for Lynchburg and succeeded, with a portion of

his army, in meeting a few cars at Farmville. But his army received therefrom no substantial additions to its commissariat, and retreating, fighting, wearied, heartsick and almost without hope, his men marched on to the west again. The stores there awaiting their arrival were doomed to become spoils for Sheridan. Is it a wonder that this army, so closely pursued, harassed, pushed back from one road to another, away from the course it would follow, its supplies captured and without any base of operations in the present or in prospective; is it a wonder that these men lost spirit, dispersed, and, in a short ten days, from a large, well-appointed army, dwindled away, down to less than enough to constitute a Confederate Army Corps? This too, while its commander, whom all so revered, was writing his adversary for "terms of peace." The wonder, rather, is, that any army was left, or that there yet remained any of that military *esprit* which delights in victory, which exhibited itself in some of the closing charges of the Rebel cavalry on the morning of the final surrender.

Custer's Division, having the advance, first struck Appomattox Station, defended only by a squad of cavalry, and by quick maneuvering surrounded and captured the trains,

from which wagons were being loaded, before any force could appear for their relief; even before they could steam away—so complete was the surprise. The railroad at this point is about two miles south of the Lynchburg stage road, which runs through Appomattox Court House, and along which the main body of Lee's army was moving. Near this point was a camp of hospital train, a large park of wagons and a park of surplus artillery, estimated by some officers at twenty-five and by others at fifty pieces. Being well in Lee's advance these troublesome encumbrances to the speedy movements of an army were preparing to bivouac for the night in fancied security. The artillery was guarded by a small division of infantry and a division of cavalry. A detachment from Lee's advance also reached the depot about the same time with our cavalry. They were at once driven back, however, when the trains were captured, and they were followed closely by Custer. A portion of the wagon trains nearly succeeded in moving off; but there now occurred, here, however, one of the hottest and hardly contested collisions of the campaign. It was one of those affairs that did not really occupy a very great length of time and of which official reports would have nothing more interesting

to say, than that "a short engagement with the enemy here took place." According to General Sheridan's official report, "General Devin coming up went in on the right of Custer. The fighting continued until after, dark and the enemy were driven."

But this brilliant little fight is entitled to more consideration. It took place near the Lynchburg stage road and was brought on by Custer in his attempts to drive the enemy and secure the possession of this great highway. It was the only route now open for Lee towards Lynchburg, or, indeed, the only main route, that he could travel in any direction, in his efforts to escape our forces. Could Sheridan obtain and hold possession of this road thus directly in Lee's front, and there remain, well established, until a good portion of the strong corps of infantry following him should arrive for his relief [support or stiffening], Lee would be completely surrounded, with no possible means of escape. To the north of him and parallel with his line of march, wound the Appomattox, unfordable and with no established crossing for many miles. Even if any such had existed, a journey in that direction would have been of no avail to the enemy. In his rear the main body of the Army of the Potomac (the com-

joined Second-Third and Sixth Corps, under Humphreys and Wright, respectively), was in close pursuit and [the former] constantly harassing him. On his left flank, towards the south, Sheridan's cavalry column, followed by the Fifth and Twenty-fourth Corps, were marching almost directly parallel and endeavoring to intercept him, in which intention, should Sheridan be successful, reach and hold a point on the road beyond Lee's advance, there offered the Rebel leader no possible means of escape, other than to pierce the lines surrounding him.

The appearance of Sheridan at Appomattox Depot, almost as Lee's extreme advance had arrived, was therefore an additional disaster; and sound military policy dictated that no effort should be spared to repel any further advance of the Union troops in this direction. But the small force of cavalry and infantry guarding the trains and surplus artillery, which had reached this point in advance of the main body in order to escape the uncertainties of battle, was not sufficient to delay, permanently, the onward progress of Sheridan. It is a doubtful principle, but one held by some of our most successful cavalry leaders, that it is the province of cavalry never to hesitate in making an attack; that no time

should be lost in cautious reconnoitering. [This was Suwarrow's idea. ANCHOR.] If anything is to be gained, the more precipitate and unexpected the attack, the greater its probable success. The chances in its favor greatly over-balance the risks of serious disaster incurred by attacking on enemy with a position and force uncertainly ascertained, and, should the movement prove injudicious, a skillful general will usually discover it in time to prevent any great misfortune to a well-disciplined cavalry. It was in strict accordance with views of this character that Sheridan and his generals pursued this stirring campaign. Without "note or comment" the Rebels were attacked wherever found. No time was previously consumed in reconnaissances and dispositions, but when the occasion presented itself a fight ensued. Thus it was in the attacks of each division, successively, at different points, of the enemy's line of march on the morning of the 6th (April) near [but south of] Deatonville. [Let there be no mistake; *not* on the road on which Humphreys fought, over and ahead, fourteen miles and for eleven hours. The cavalry, always claiming the lion's share of the glory of this pursuit, which justice cannot assign to them, is said to have been "in Deatonville." Justly does Humphreys re-

mark: "The despatch from Meade to me (signed 'Webb, Chief of Staff') telling me about Deatonville, *was received by me after I had got two miles beyond Deatonville and had left it behind me for more than an hour.*" If any one will look at the map, on which the operations of the different corps and services are distinctly marked, he will see that the cavalry were at work upon a mere side issue and moving on a lateral road. The whole district thereabouts may have been known by the principal settlement, as Deatonville, but there was no "station." General Custer admitted the cavalry were not on the line or route the combined Second-Third Corps fought over, driving the Rebels before them, from one strong and strengthened position after another. The fact is, history, "that vast Mississippi of falsehoods," as Matthew Arnold styled it—particularly military history, is simply an aggregation of special pleas for this one or that. ANCHOR.]

Thus it was again on the afternoon of the 7th, near Farmville, when Crook's column was brought so quickly to a halt. Independently of the principle that the pursuers should always harass the pursued, the cavalry of Sheridan owes much of its success in previous campaigns, but especially in this one, to the dash-

ing compliance of its leaders with this interesting theory.

So on this evening of the 8th April, Custer had captured the railroad trains near the station of Appomattox, while the probability was that he should soon encounter a large camp of the enemy, or perhaps his main body. The facts are, that with the small force at his command and without awaiting further advice or instructions, he at once opened a battle. The trains being captured, the enemy began a most destructive artillery fire upon the station and there was great danger of the prize being lost. Upon this, just as when the Massachusetts 6th and New York 7th were on their first journey to Washington, at the breaking out of the war, and a call was made for engineers, to put the locomotives in order and start them out with the troops from Annapolis to Washington, there was a ready and competent response; so, now, at the close of the war, during the hasty movements consequent upon a cavalry engagement and while the shots flew over and through the newly-made prizes, and when each soldier had a duty to perform which might pardon him for not remembering what was his former civil occupation or whether he ever had any at all, a call was made for engineers from the ranks.

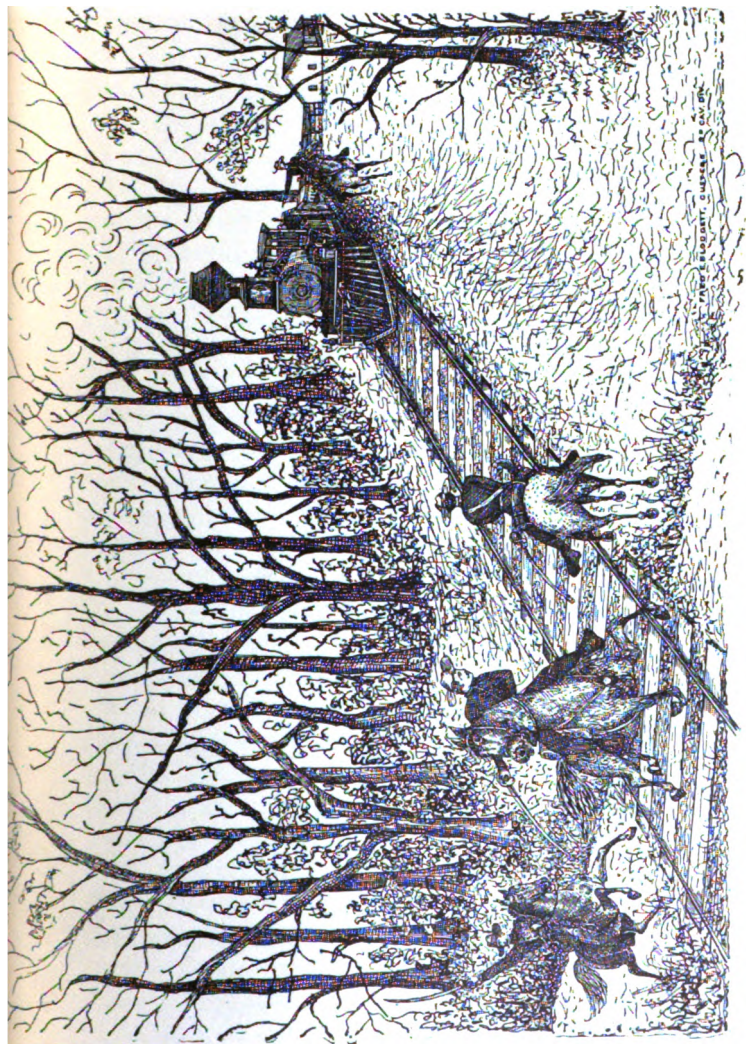
"Who could engineer these trains from the danger of recapture?" A response was ready in the Harris Light Cavalry, and the new engineers assumed their posts. Soon a timorous whistle and laborious puffs announced the struggles of the iron monsters, and in a short time a long bold whoop and the regular sounds of movements over the rails aroused the curiosity of the troops not yet arrived. The track being in order the trains were run into better established positions within our lines. They passed by columns of our men, awakening the most intense interest and curiosity among the soldiers of Devin and Crook, who were also marching up along the railroad.*

* In his memoirs General Sheridan gives the particulars of his obtaining information about the railroad trains containing Lee's supplies, and the orders under which his cavalry generals were pushed forward with a view to intercept and capture these trains. He credits the exploit and the opening of the battle of that evening to "two regiments" of Custer's Division. These two regiments belonged to the First Brigade, of the Third (Custer's) Cavalry Division. Company K., of the Second New York Harris Light Cavalry, was in the advance of this regiment, which was at the head of Custer's column; and in the advance of the regiment were four picked men reconnoitering on the run as far ahead as was possible. They heard a peculiar whistle and puff. The distance could only be judged by the smoke above the trees. As the whistle blew again to start one of these four, dashing down the railroad track with his carbine, covered the engineer in approved style, commanding

Meantime Custer continued his fight, to assure his position at Appomattox Station and

"hands up," and so held the train for a few moments until the head of the regiment reached the spot. A minute later and the train would have moved off. The dash was none too soon. Meanwhile Confederate troops were advancing to the succor of the trains. Before the New York Cavalry could all be gotten up into line company after company of it was thrown upon the skirmish line to cover the trains and prevent the enemy's skirmishers from coming in upon the volunteers who had been quickly summoned to man the trains. The next regiment in Custer's column, the Third New Jersey Cavalry, came on the ground at a gallop and became engaged on the right of the New York Regiment, whose line was already overlapped by that of the enemy. These two regiments were obliged to confront, and they held in check, a superior force of Confederates until nearly dark, before the head of the main body of Custer's column could arrive. As regiment after regiment under Custer then came upon the ground the enemy's line seemed to grow stronger and larger, with both artillery and infantry playing on our men. Devin's column finally arrived and prolonged our line on Custer's right; and the fighting continued long into the night as described in the text, and in the official reports referred to. The soldier, one of the four advancing videttes, who held up the engineer was Fred E. Blodgett, of Company K, Second New York Harris Light Cavalry; who, although then a boy of only sixteen had served with his regiment in over a dozen battles from the Wilderness to Appomattox, and like most of the cavalymen of that type and training, knew when and how to "do things." This "thing" he certainly did handsomely and effectively.

The Confederate Battery that had the station and trains within its easy range and play from the moment of the first attack, was finally captured with the other guns and captures that were secured upon the field that night. (See also Confederate reports quoted from in Chapter XIII.)



HOLDING UP LEE'S SUPPLY TRAINS.

to advance his troops, if possible, as far as the Lynchburg pike, capturing such artillery and trains as might be between him and that road and holding a position there, directly across Lee's line of march, until further orders should be received from his superiors. This was the true plan and it was most skillfully and successfully executed.

Pennington's and Capehart's brigades, numerically known as the First and Third Brigades, of Custer's Division, being the leading commands in the column, were brought into action as soon as on the ground, and efforts were at once made to capture the artillery, which was doing considerable damage among the troops. Canister was freely used by the enemy, and it was at one time quite doubtful whether the trains could be run off successfully. The extemporized engineers from the "Harris' Light" did their work well, however, and the prizes were secured.

The position of the enemy was covered by thick woods, on every approach, and night was fast coming on. But Custer maintained the fight by repeated charges, now on the right, now on the left, now in the center. The enemy was kept thoroughly occupied and no opportunity was given him to reconnoiter or test the strength of the attacking force. Had

he done so, with a well-disciplined although small force of infantry, the wooded character of the country was greatly in his favor as against cavalry. Custer's charges were repulsed or only a few rods would be gained. The Second Brigade (third in column), under Wells, was then brought into action and fresh charges made, both mounted and dismounted, against the enemy's position. His guns continued to grow more destructive at each approach. Men and officers were becoming discouraged in these attempts, apparently so futile. Custer himself now led the charges and seemed ubiquitous, exerting his every effort to maintain every inch he could gain, and to imbue his men with the enthusiasm of his own nature. In this latter endeavor his mercurial temperament usually helped him to success. No rail fences were converted into slight breastwork, no defensive line attempted; but bold, persistent and determined personal efforts were made to break the enemy's front. Many officers, however, engaged in this contest, expressed the belief that it was impossible to gain the position desired, and urged that further efforts be desisted from at present. Not the slightest anxiety, however, was manifested as to Custer's ability to hold his own position be-

fore what opposition might here be brought against him.

The whole fighting force of the three brigades was kept in action. Darkness came on, and, guided by the flashes of the enemy's guns, Custer was still pushing and pressing here and there along the line. His officers kept track of him with difficulty and sought him by recognition of his voice in words of command, or by the blasts of his bugle as ever and anon it sounded the "Forward!" and "Charge!" It must have been about nine o'clock in the evening, which had been passed in this entertaining manner, when, as though impatient of further delay, he shouted to a staff officer (Brevet Col. E. W. Whittaker, Chief of Staff and Lieut.-Col. 1st Connecticut Cavalry), that "those guns must be taken in five minutes." The officer quickly passed the word along the line, which responded in renewed and hearty cheers. The shout was taken up from man to man and simultaneously the lines moved forward. The Rebels heard it and did not rejoice, but began to retire. They were discovered to be abandoning their guns, many of which had been taken off to the pike running from Appomattox Court House to Lynchburg, which road was not far distant from the scene of the

fight. With cheer upon cheer the line advanced and swept everything before it. The enemy's position was abandoned and an indiscriminate mass of guns, caissons and baggage-trains captured. Without stopping to lose themselves among these trophies, under the lead of Custer, in the darkness, by a narrow obscure road and through the thickest underbrush, our men pushed on in pursuit. The column was obliged to march "by fours" only, but the random shots of stray pieces of artillery, by which the Rebels sought to intimidate our men, were now without result. The advance was continued and over an uncertain by-road the pike was finally reached.

The enemy now took both routes of retreat; one toward Lynchburg and the other toward Appomattox Court House, not two miles distant, where Lee's army was bivouacking for the night. Once upon that highway the troops emerged into an open country, while over undulating fields, and, glimmering like fire-flies, on the hills just beyond the little village, broke into view the camp-fires of all that remained of the Rebel host. Will the soldiers who saw them that night ever forget the scene?

But there was no time for contemplation. The road was packed with trains of baggage,

supplies and artillery in one grand inextricable confusion, some headed one way and some another, and all so thoroughly interlocked and obstructing the road, that over this excellent highway, ordinarily passable for several wagons traveling abreast of each other, a single horseman could with difficulty select a bridle path. But the enemy was not yet disposed to abandon the hope of holding this road. They seemed to feel assured that our cavalry could not remain long upon it; and that portion of them who fled toward Lynchburg now unlimbered guns on our men from that direction, while those fleeing for rescue toward Appomattox Court House assisted in the annoyance. While incidents of this character frequently gave commanding generals the most anxious solicitude and attention, it sometimes happens that the quick impulse of some officer meets the emergency. So it was here. Before any provision could be made for disposing, in the darkness, of the somewhat scattered troops to silence this fire, now in the rear, a group of horsemen, which was afterwards proved to consist, in great part, of officers led by the enthusiastic proposition of one of their number, guided by the flash of the guns, suddenly charged this new fire, silenced it, and captured the guns.

All the plunder seemed now in our possession, as well as the road by which Lee was retreating, and over which he must pass to escape the "anaconda."

Custer did not halt, however, but continued his advance toward the Court House, until he encountered an infantry barricade, when a halt was ordered, and a line in front thereof established. Directions were given to secure the artillery and valuable portions of the captured wagon trains as speedily as possible by running them off to the south side of the railroad at the station.

About this time, General Devin's Division dismounted, and reached the road on which Custer was operating from across the fields at his right. Devin's troops had been dismounted early in the action, and deployed on the right of Custer's line, where the service they rendered was chiefly to distract the enemy by the appearance of "Yankees" upon every quarter. The dense character of the country rendered communication between the different generals exceedingly slow and difficult, especially after dark. Hence, Devin's troops did not become seriously engaged.

It was now arranged that General Devin's troops should assume a line of one brigade,

facing Lee's army toward the Court House, and one also toward Lynchburg at the west, thus relieving General Custer's men, while the latter should be occupied in clearing the field of the captures. These, it was found, amounted to twenty-five pieces of artillery and over two hundred wagons, the latter filled mostly with baggage.

It was midnight before Custer himself left the field, when he rode to the hospital and visited his wounded. Had it been daylight, then, he would have seen the green saplings, about which his men so valiantly and successfully fought, bent and split by canister from the artillery. The trees and the artillery carriages in the park were perforated with bullet holes; horses wallowed in the bloody mud, and the first dawn of day upon the spot would tell any observer of the deadly character of that evening's contest. Surgeons of wide experience in the cavalry remarked that they never treated so many extreme cases in so short a fight. The wounds were chiefly made by artillery, and were serious; many patients being badly mangled.

This battle, fought on the eve of surrender, when the Rebel general knew too well that further resistance was in vain, entailed, as usual, its sad sacrifices. Lieutenant-Colonel

Aug. J. Root, of the 15th New York Cavalry, a noble and brave man, was killed in the last charge on the "pike," near Appomattox Court House. His body fell into the hands of the enemy, and was found with Lee's army on the next morning, after surrender, stripped of all clothing. Major Howe, of the 1st West Virginia Cavalry was also instantly killed in this action. But my pen fails to do justice to the memory of all these faithful soldiers. Their name too is legion, and I leave the task to better hands.

Sheridan, of course, lost no time in notifying General Grant of the result of his day's operations, as well as Generals Ord and Griffin, commanding the infantry on this wing and in this vicinity, respectively, of the Army of the James and of the Fifth Corps, which had started in the morning in rear of the cavalry. Knowing that daylight would again appear before General Grant might be able to receive his message and to issue fresh orders upon his report, he urged the generals just mentioned to press on with all possible energy, and that, if they could reach him in time, there was no possible means of escape for the enemy. "The last ditch" had been discovered. These commanders judiciously determined to force the

march at night, and the head of their columns reached Appomattox Depot about two o'clock in the morning of the 9th, thus having marched all day and the greater part of the night. The march, too, at times, was to some of the troops exceedingly tedious, owing to the frequent halts, which are often unavoidable when so large a column uses only one road of travel.

["I" (says Capt. Charles W. Greene, 11th Colored Troops, U. S. Volunteers,) belonged to Ord's column of the Army of the James. I think it was on the 6th of April, 1865, that we arrived near Farmville [Rice's Station?]. We encamped in dense young woods and lay there till the 7th. We lay in shelter tents on the 7th. We marched eastward across a beautiful valley, fording two or three wide streams, waist deep, and encamped near Farmville. Early on the morning of the 8th we awoke, passed through Farmville in the early twilight, and made a splendid march of forty-seven miles (so it was said) to a point near Appomattox Court House. We had not a straggler—every man was in his place when, near midnight, we fell upon the damp April ground, and slept sweetly till 4 A. M.; then a rapid march, a halt for coffee (drunk boiling hot) and for a hard-

tack bolted in haste; a sharp cannonade, a swift double-quick, a headlong run, a rush of our cavalry out of the woods with some Rebel battle flags, with the news that Langdon's Battery was lost to the Johnnies. We rush in, our left in front, a hurrying deployment of two companies of skirmishers, a fine march into a field by the rear rank in our haste, my company with the colors; a halt, news from one of Sheridan's staff that Lee was about to surrender; then a dozen or two hurrahs, with tears of joy unnumbered; then written orders from Grant to move no men, but to remain where we were; then directions from Sheridan to move under cover of a hill to an unguarded road, by which, I doubt not, many of Lee's men might have escaped, if some did not; then news of the *Surrender*; and a closing in of the lines and the exit of a large number of our prisoners from Lee's lines. That was news enough for one day!"]

That portion of Sheridan's cavalry which had not been engaged, aware of the length of the day's march they had accomplished, went into bivouac, long after dark, and were astonished at the first break of the day, in answering to *reveille*, to find in the same field with themselves long stacks of trusty muskets. *A cavalry soldier may feign a want of*

respect for infantry; but he usually expresses a certain sense of relief on learning of the proximity of troops from that branch of the service! So on the morning of the 9th; conscious of the importance of the next few hours, these men answered in silent sympathy to each other.

This infantry obtained little sleep during the night. Many were marching all night (8th—9th), some not arriving until (9th) morning. The same was the case with the other wing of Grant's army, who were following Lee more directly, where the rear of the combined Second-Third Corps did not get up until (9th) morning. If the pursuers were obliged to make these extraordinary exertions, what must have been the efforts of the pursued? But it was these forced marches during the day and night of the 8th—9th of April, which settled the fact of Lee's surrender on April 9th. The cavalry could not have withstood by itself the attacks which, on the morrow, were brought against it. The march of a strong body of infantry, with a fleetness unknown, because, perhaps, unnecessary, during many of the former operations against which Lee had contended, was unexpected to him; and, as we shall see in recounting the affairs of to-morrow—9th April

—when once he learned the fact, hostilities were suspended. It is universally admitted in military circles, that the unusual march of the troops just mentioned was the most effective among the immediate causes of the final surrender.*

* NOTE: Some interesting despatches bearing upon the intense operations of the day and night of April eighth include the following:

“Farmville, April 8, 1865. Major-General Sheridan: Make a detail from your own command to go with the ambulances of the Fifth Corps to collect in your wounded. *I think Lee will surrender to-day. I addressed him on the subject last evening and received a reply this morning asking the terms I wanted. We will push him until terms are agreed upon.*”

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.”

“Cavalry Headquarters, Buffalo River, April 8, 1865. Lieutenant General Grant, Commanding armies of the United States: General: I respectfully inclose a dispatch from General Merritt. If this is correct the enemy must have taken the fine road north of the Appomattox River. I will move on Appomattox Court-House. Should we not intercept the enemy and he be forced into Lynchburg his surrender then is beyond question. P. H. SHERIDAN. Major-General.”

“Cavalry Headquarters, Walker's Church, April 8, 1865. Maj. Gen. George Crook, Commanding Second Cavalry Division: General: We are now at Walker's Church, and after passing Sawney's Creek will turn to the left and join you at Appomattox Station. I think the enemy are moving now, and are about at Appomattox Court-House. Custer is now moving to the left to join you, and Gibbon is in your immediate rear. If you can by any means strike the enemy's trains do so. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General.”

“Cavalry Headquarters, Prospect Station, April 8, 1865, Maj. Gen. George Crook, Commanding Second Cavalry Division: General: The major-general com-

manding directs that you move your command in the direction of Appomattox Depot, so as to reach there to-night, unless the enemy's movements interfere with these instructions. You will move your division on the road running near the railroad. General Merritt will move his command on the direct road to Appomattox Court-House and will move on Appomattox Depot when he arrives in the vicinity of Ferguson Mountain. General Merritt will be required to keep open communication with you on the side roads. General Mackenzie will be ordered to report to you with his command. Very respectfully,
JAS. W. FORSYTH, Chief of Staff."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Appomattox Station, April 8, 1865. General Gibbon: We have captured four trains of cars with locomotives. The trains were loaded with supplies. One of the trains was burned. Thirty pieces of artillery and a large number of wagons and prisoners. If it is possible to push on your troops we may have handsome results in the morning. Very respectfully, P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General.

P. S. We captured 1,000 prisoners, including one general officer, and from 150 to 200 wagons."

"Headquarters, Twenty-Fourth Army Corps, Five Miles from Appomattox, April 8, 1865—7.15 p.m.

Lieutenant-General Grant: General: a staff officer from General Sheridan has just reached me. Sheridan has captured three railroad trains loaded with supplies for the enemy and is now in contact with his troops. My corps will reach him either to-night or early to-morrow morning—I fear not before morning, as they have had a long march. Griffin is close behind me. The trains have just passed toward Farmville. Respectfully, JOHN GIBBON, Major-General."


"Cavalry Headquarters, April 8, 1865, 9.20 p.m. Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States: General: I marched early this morning from Buffalo Creek and Prospect Station on Appomattox Station, where my scouts had reported trains of cars with supplies for Lee's army. A short time before dusk General Custer, who had the advance, made a dash at the station, capturing four

trains of supplies with locomotives. One of the trains was burned and the others were run back toward Farmville for security. Custer then pushed on toward Appomattox Court-House, driving the enemy, who kept up a heavy fire of artillery, charging them repeatedly and capturing, as far as reported, twenty-five pieces of artillery and a number of prisoners and wagons. The First Cavalry Division supported him on the right. A reconnaissance sent across the Appomattox reports the enemy moving on the Cumberland road to Appomattox Station, where they expected to get supplies. Custer is still pushing on. If General Gibbon and the Fifth Corps can get up to-night *we will perhaps finish the job in the morning. I do not think Lee means to surrender until compelled to do so.* Very respectfully, General, your obedient servant, P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General, U. S. Army Commanding."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Appomattox Depot, April 8, 1865. The troops of this command will be formed and on the alert at 4 a.m. to-morrow. By command of MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN: Jas. W. Forsyth, Chief of Staff."


CHAPTER X.*

Sunday, April 9th—The daybreak in fog.—Crook's difficult task.—The opposing lines.—The enemy's final advance.—Arrival of infantry line.—Sheridan's grand charge averted.—He suspends hostilities by request of Lee's generals.—The truce formed on enemy's mis-statement.—Lee not "in conference" with Grant, but at last offers to surrender without negotiating.—The scene of battle.—Communication difficult between the wings of Meade and Sheridan.—Latter fired upon during the truce.—The last shots.—A memorable despatch.—See also Chapter XIII.

BEFORE daylight, the next morning, the rubbish which encumbered the Lynchburg Pike had been cleared away by Custer's veterans; and the bugles awakened the weary troops before the break of dawn. All were in the saddle, fully prepared for the grand contest anticipated. The unexpected sight of the infantry, too, served to impress the soldiers with the belief that their commanders deemed hearty work to be before them, and the extraordinary march accomplished made the infantry earnest of success. The hostilities of the day were opened by the Rebels in an attempt to dislodge the troops at the Lynchburg Pike, who were now halting Lee's army.  There has been quite a popular

* See also Chapter XIII.

impression that, on the morning of the 9th, seeing the difficulty of his position, Lee quietly determined to surrender without an engagement, and acted accordingly.

This, however, is a serious error.  It is true that some of his most prominent subordinates believed that nothing but cavalry was in his front, and that a strong attack with infantry would open the way for his continued retreat. It was not thought that the Union infantry could possibly have marched so completely around the Rebels, and it was confidently expected, therefore, that the line in the latter's front toward Lynchburg might be forced early in the morning, before succor could arrive from the infantry corps presumed to be marching to the support of the cavalry. At an interview between the opposing generals, which took place later in the day, these sentiments were acknowledged, although there were one or two Confederate generals present who were engaged in the battle of the morning, and who expressed it as their opinion at the time that our infantry had actually arrived, and that it was useless to continue further hostilities. It was a contrary sentiment, however, which induced the battle of that morning; and the spirit which seemed to animate a considerable portion of

the Rebel cavalry, in their maneuvers of this day, indicated that they were anticipating an easy success. Under these circumstances a determined effort was made at dawn to break through the Union cavalry on the Lynchburg road, clear the country in that direction and open a way for the further retreat of the Rebel army. Crook's Division, having been more fortunate than any other part of the cavalry corps in securing a few hours rest during the night, moved from its bivouac before the dawn, and by sunrise had relieved the troops of General Devin at the extreme front, allowing the latter to move off toward the railroad, across the fields and woods on the right, that they might there attend to their horses and prepare for the work of the day. But the enemy was already alive. The fog of the morning was just rising from the open fields over which his movements were now obliged to be made. The sharp ring of carriages greeted the rising sun, and an occasional discharge of artillery ["the diapason of the cannonade,"] harmonized with the clamor, intensifying a warlike prelude whose significance at this early hour every veteran appreciates.

The Union infantry, for the present, remained near Appomattox Depot to obtain

some slight rest and refreshments, and the new dispositions of cavalry were quickly made. The extreme left, or the whole of the care of the Lynchburg Pike, was now left to General Crook, McKenzie's command being sent to support him. Merritt's Corps reorganized, and was so disposed as to meet any emergency which might arise on the right of General Crook, and to protect the latter from being flanked from this direction, until the infantry of the Fifth and Twenty-fourth Corps could be brought up into a proper position.

Sheridan himself had remained at his headquarters during the night, near Appomattox Depot, where, early in the morning, he was able to consult with General Ord as to the prospective labors of the day. The task assigned to General Crook soon proved to be of no little importance and difficulty. Smith's (Third) Brigade, with a section of Lord's Battery (First U. S. Artillery,) supported by J. Irwin Gregg's Brigade (Second) under Colonel Young, and McKenzie's brigade of cavalry from the Army of the James, were posted on a rising slope across the road; and, while attempting to repel the advances of the enemy in their front, also essayed, by patrols and detachments, to glean all possible information regarding their movements in

other quarters. Davies's Brigade was sent to the north and west, militarily described as the left and rear, to give speedy warning and to cut off and prevent, if possible, any movement indicating an attempt of the Rebels to march around the flank of those now confronting them. All of these commands soon became more or less engaged; some of them quite seriously. With the clear sunrise, advancing toward Smith across the open fields, came the glittering lines of battle, with colors plainly flying. Not far behind them lay the little village of Appomattox Court House, surrounded by a most beautiful and undulating farming country. Just out of sight, beyond, were supposed to rest the remainder of the Rebel army; while even within view a few wagons and a bivouac fire here and there appeared as a distant feature of the picture.

The Rebel lines of infantry seemed not to advance with that mobility and elasticity which usually characterized their movements, and the number of colors in the lines was remarkable. This latter fact was afterward explained by the general demoralization of Lee's army, which was already so great that the men were gathered together irrespective of the particular command to which they may have belonged and, as if by military instinct,

they grouped themselves under the nearest colors convenient. Officers had forbore to insist that every man should be present with his own regiment. Many commands had no representatives and men were collected and marshaled under any flag, in a manner most unceremonious and expeditious. The troops in front of Sheridan consisted chiefly of Gordon's and Longstreet's Corps and Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry. [This is an error. Longstreet's Corps was opposed to Humphreys' combined Second-Third Corps, in the opposite direction, towards the east; the cavalry were to the west of the Rebel lines and position. ANCHOR.]

The direct attack on Crook's front was not at first successful. Some sturdy men from Maine were there, and Smith's Brigade were not accustomed to retire without the most serious persuasion. The enemy then attempted to outflank Sheridan by sending cavalry completely around the left of his lines, with a view of striking the pike again nearer Lynchburg; and then, by vigorously attacking his rear, break through his troops, effect a junction with Lee's main body, and thus open the road for further retreat. In making this effort Davies's Brigade was encountered, and this portion of the field being more wooded

than others, afforded the latter the advantage of concealing his real strength, which was quite small, and allowed him to display a force at whatever point circumstances might require.

Davies established a long circular-shaped line, extending from the left of Smith around again to the pike, which he was obliged to defend against any movement from the direction of Lynchburg. While his attention was thus occupied, however, the fighting grew louder and heavier at the front. Warned by their first unsuccessful attempt, the enemy were now making a second stronger attack, directly in Crook's front.

It was the last time that the infantry of the Rebel Army of Northern Virginia ever advanced upon the defenders of the Union. The latter occupied a well chosen position overlooking the whole country, over which their assailants were obliged to maneuver; and, behind hastily constructed rail barricades the Union dismounted carbineers, with four light pieces of artillery, held out manfully against many times their number. But the Rebel lines extended much beyond ours, both to the right and left. Merritt's corps had not yet gone into position on the right and there was imminent danger of Crook's flanks being

turned. The Rebel officers could be seen encouraging their men and leading them on in a manner most confident and valorous.

The country to the right of Crook, as far as the railroad, was mostly thickly wooded and had afforded a convenient and appropriate location for a considerable number of his extra horses. Not meeting with much resistance in this quarter among these, the Rebels soon made their appearance. Our men [horseholders,] ran off the animals so speedily that few, however, were lost. About the same time also the right of the Rebel line of infantry overlapped our own left and compelled us to retire, while the direct advance pressed up closely to the overworked guns. The ammunition, too, was giving out. The brigades heretofore held in reserve, under Colonel Young and General McKenzie, had been ordered into action, respectively, one to the left and the other to the right, and they temporarily checked the enemy's advance. The gallant little band in front, however, were becoming unable longer to protect their guns and, finally, sought to withdraw them. Many of the artillery horses had been killed. Amid smoke and fire and the whistle of bullets the pieces were dragged away, but one of them, becoming stalled, was abandoned. *It was now*

an unsuccessful battle; the Rebels had partially dislodged our cavalry and were pressing with a force strong enough to complete its retirement.

Nothing appeared to prevent their entire occupation of the coveted highway; and while our men were rallying, a column of Rebel cavalry approached to charge the road. Officers were galloping to and fro; and our men were wandering about to find their companies; no lines were definitely established, and there was a lull of that "dread clamor" of glorious war; yet all was hopeful expectation. It was known that the infantry were not far distant and it must not be long before they would arrive on the ground. It was not more than eight o'clock and the mist of the morning had hardly cleared away. The air was thick with the smoke and dust of battle. The fresh sunbeams breaking through, lifted into view the Rebel horsemen. Slowly and confidently they rode in solid column towards us. Their peculiar cheers [yells] broke the stillness of the temporary lull and their sabers waved with a joyful flourish. There seemed to be a renewal of their ancient spirits. They had passed the spot where our guns this morning had first opened and where the Union lines had given

way. *The way seemed clear before them and the road to Lynchburg once more secured.*

But joy was turned to grief. The sounds of battle had not fallen unconcernedly on the troops in bivouac. General Ord's infantry had already started from Appomattox Depot, and with scarce an hour for rest, after a night-long march, were hurrying to the scene of action. Foster's Division was in advance and had already reached the Lynchburg pike. Seeing the condition of affairs a regiment was at once formed across the road and a second one was going into line at its side. The column of Rebel cavalry at the same moment, by a little rise in the road, suddenly discovered the new enemy across their path. How their hearts must have shrunk with bitter disappointment! Not a shot was fired. The officers, plainly visible, riding quietly at the head, quickly halted. General Foster and staff were in front of their troops, in person directing the dispositions. There was a moment of silent suspense, while more infantry hurried at double-quick into position. A Rebel officer wheeled and gave a brief word of command. Sabers fell, cheers ceased; one, two, three, a dozen shots were now quickly exchanged. A volley followed and before the smoke could clear away the Rebel cavalry was

one, and the lines of General Foster were sweeping forward in close pursuit. Some colored troops appeared on the field, quickly assumed their positions, and, as frequently happens with troops when brought for the first time into action, opened a noisy volley, which was not without its effect in accelerating the enemy's movements. (This cannot be construed into a reflection on the efficiency of the negro troops; it is an occurrence by no means unusual, even among veteran regiments.) The Rebel infantry was soon met and the firing continued with renewed vigor. Foster's and a part of Birney's (Colored) Divisions were about to become seriously engaged. All was activity and preparation. Fresh artillery was going into position. The lines of infantry were readjusted. The morning had become bright and clear, and on the open fields now before the Unionists was spread out an enemy whose complete destruction was most imminent. Seeing their danger the Rebel cavalry again attempted to move around the command of General Davies and to strike the Lynchburg road beyond him. By making a wide detour, they were finally enabled to accomplish this result, though not without some loss in wounded and prisoners, caused by the constant charges of Davies on their flanks.

Once in possession of a portion of the Lynchburg pike they proceeded by a dashing charge to break through Davies and overtake the rear of the forces advancing toward Appomattox Court House. But this attempt was unsuccessful. The cavalry under McKenzie and Colonel Young, which by this time had reformed without serious loss and which had captured from the enemy during the short fight several stands of colors, was ordered to reinforce Davies, and the latter was instructed to whip anything he could find worth fighting and then hasten to join in a grand charge on the enemy at Appomattox Court House.

Meanwhile Sheridan had formed Devin and Custer on the slopes of the hills surrounding the little village, for an impetuous charge on the main body of Lee's army, which now appeared plainly visible on the hills and in the valley beyond.

Meanwhile the Fifth Corps, which had bivouacked for the night close to General Ord's command, moved forward at dawn and marching directly across the country from the railroad, about six o'clock had reached the vicinity of Appomattox Court House. Learning through Sheridan that a portion of the cavalry was heavily engaged and hard pressed, Ayres' Division was pushed forward at a

double-quick, two Pennsylvania regiments (the 190th and 191st Pennsylvania Volunteers,) armed with Spencer rifles, deployed as skirmishers and the main part of the division formed at once in two lines of battle. General Bartlett's (First) Division, formed likewise on the right of Ayres, was covered with a heavy skirmish line (155th and 190th Pennsylvania and 185th New York Volunteers.) Thus disposed, the corps moved forward and attacked the enemy

At the same time Sheridan had formed the two divisions of Merritt's cavalry corps, under Devin and Custer, to the right of the infantry (Fifth Corps,) on the slopes of the hills to the westward of the little village of Appomattox Court House, for a grand simultaneous charge on the main body of Lee's army, spread out before them on the fields in the valley beyond.

It was a thrilling spectacle, on this beautiful spring morning, to witness the advancing lines of the Union grand army. All its movements were now in fair and open view and could be taken in at a glance. The troops here may be said to have constituted one wing of Grant's army; while the combined Second-Third and the Sixth Corps, following directly in the rear of Lee and more immediately un-

der the command of General Meade [so to speak; Humphreys was in actual command] may properly be named as the other. (The Ninth Corps did not advance beyond Farmville during the campaign.) Sheridan was the leading spirit of the [west] wing now more immediately referred to; and amid the various colors, as he moved rapidly among the troops, followed by a group of horsemen, his headquarter pennant * was especially distinguishable.

Custer's gay color was likewise conspicuous; and, while the attack by the infantry was progressing, his division was sweeping along the hills and forming nearer the village for a charge in column of squadrons. *It was one grand jubilee of warfare!* The sight to every soldier was inspiring. Advancing lines of battle "to the right of him and to the left of him;" the steel glistening in the morning sunlight; hundreds of colors proudly waving along the lines; the eager generals, with their staffs and escorts, here and there dotting the fields; the artillery rumbling ponderously by battery front, now hurriedly unlimbering its guns and now skilfully limbering-up again; aides and orderlies dashing gaily over the

* Upon the cover of this volume may be seen this flag, represented from the original.

plain; while at right angles to the grand advance, and almost within sight of every man, the squadrons of cavalry swept along the slopes in a style peculiarly attractive.

It was about nine o'clock. The enemy, no longer able to maintain the semblance of organized resistance, retreating, kept a good distance beyond our advance. But retiring directly over the country whence they came, they must soon encounter the rest of the Army of the Potomac under General Meade. Who now could doubt that capture or annihilation was before them? The panoramic view and the moral spectacle of this morning were unparalleled.

Long and patiently had many a weary soldier waited for this day. Proud and haughty had many a noble-spirited youth felt it postponed by "strategic" retreat. Brave and valiant had many gallant soldiers found their graves in fighting, that we might see it. Hopeful and sincere had noble women prayed that it might come. Silent and obedient the veterans longed for it. Industrious, energetic, intelligent and faithful, the army had worked for it. Powerful and unyielding the whole nation demanded it. Quiet and persistent the Lieutenant-General determined it.

A short time longer and this pomp and cir-

cumstance of battle would be turned to combat and slaughter. Weary, hungry, defeated, pursued, harassed, surrounded, the Rebel "Army of Northern Virginia" was helpless. When, therefore, its further defiance was complete destruction, Captain Simms, of General Longstreet's staff, hailed General Custer, bearing a large white towel, asking, in the names of Generals Lee and Longstreet, a suspension of hostilities.

Colonel Whittaker, of General Custer's staff, was, thereupon, sent with Captain Simms to General Longstreet, to reply that General Custer was not in chief command, and he could not, therefore, avert his impending charge without the announcement of unconditional surrender. General Longstreet hoped he would do so, and replied that Grant and Lee were in "conference," which was not the fact. General Grant did not reach the field until afternoon; for, under his own hand, we are informed that at 11.50, A. M., on that day, he was "about four miles west of Walker's Church," which was nearly ten miles distant.

General Custer, however, stayed his column, and quietly sent to General Sheridan information of the state of affairs. The precaution was taken, also, to form the troops

When Sheridan received Custer's message, he rode at once to Appomattox Court House. On approaching this place, he was fired into by some parties of the enemy, who, doubtless, misconceived his staff and escort to be an advance detachment of the cavalry whose charge had so recently been averted. It is miraculous that among so large a group this fire was harmless, while it is equally curious that men accustomed to distinguish one part of an army from another should have mistaken a general officer, accompanied by his staff, color-bearer and a few orderlies, riding in advance of well-defined bodies of troops, for a charging squadron of cavalry. Sheridan was about to order his lines instantly forward again; but the *mistake* (?) was soon rectified.

Soon afterwards he met Generals Gordon, ^{and} Fox, Longstreet and others of the Rebel service, and, at their request, a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, pending negotiations for a surrender then said to be progress-

ing between Generals Grant and Lee. It seems the latter had expected to meet General Grant personally, at ten o'clock this morning, "on the Old Stage Road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies." In the same note in which this was stated, and which was written late on the day before (8th) General Lee had also said that, "to be frank, he did not *think the emergency had arisen to call for a surrender.*" This would indicate that he thought there was yet a possibility for the escape of his army, which opinion he certainly could not have entertained, had he been acquainted with the massed and speedy movements of Union troops marching to intercept and to occupy the only route, at that time, open for the further march of the Rebel army. Lee, therefore, desired to meet General Grant only to learn whether he had any "proposals that would tend to the restoration of peace!" General Grant had previously informed General Lee of the single condition upon which a surrender would be accepted, and, hence, in a note written early on the morning of the 9th, he declined to meet General Lee. So, when the latter rode out towards the rear of his own army, the next morning, to see General Grant at ten o'clock, as he had supposed, F

there received this note of Grant last referred to.

It is worthy of remark, here, that no proposition had yet been made by Lee for the surrender of his army; and that, about the very hour now spoken of, his subordinates, generals in front of Sheridan, having been for several hours convinced of the impracticability of escape, IN THEIR OWN NAME *requested the suspension of hostilities*. While Lee was going to the rear for the purpose of conferring with General Grant on "terms of peace," his troops were making one more final effort to escape. The news of this unsuccessful attempt was fresh in the mind of Lee, when he learned, on the picket line, that the Lieutenant-General had declined to meet him. It was THEN, *and not before*, that Lee again requested an interview, with direct reference to the surrender of his army. Therefore, be It was THEN, *and not before*, that Lee again to General Sheridan,* more than to any other one man, is the country indebted for the speedy and complete success of the great "ELEVEN DAYS' CAMPAIGN."

The temporary truce being agreed upon, as soon as assurance was given that a sur-

* "ANCHOR" at this point writes in "General Humphreys.

render was intended, and of which there could be no doubt, General Forsyth, of Sheridan's staff, was sent by the shortest route, directly through the enemy's camps, to inform General Meade of the truce agreed upon in this part of the field. The infantry and cavalry, under Generals Ord and Sheridan, rested just where they had halted in their lines on the sloping fields. Before them lay the little village, and about it a confused mass of troops and wagons.

Our soldiers strained their eyes to observe every feature of the scene. They sought to observe it more accurately, and, while there was naturally among them some vacant curiosity, there were more speculative whispers, or else a proud, triumphant silence. The various commanding generals, being notified, repaired without delay to the Court House, which remained between the lines of the two armies. Here were soon assembled: General Ord (the ranking officer of this, the left wing of the army,) commander of the Army of the James; General Gibbon, commanding the Twenty-fourth Corps, only two divisions of which were in this campaign; Generals Foster, Turner and Birney, division commanders; General Griffin, commanding Fifth Army Corps; Generals [Crawford] Ayers,

Bartlett, and other principal general officers from the Fifth Corps; General Sheridan, commander of all the cavalry and of such infantry corps as, from time to time, might be assigned to him; Generals Merritt, Crook and the other principal cavalry generals whose names have been, heretofore, so frequently mentioned—being, in fact, all the chief officers of the wing of the army now under Ord and Sheridan; together with Generals Longstreet, Gordon, “Runy” Lee, Wilcox, and a number of other leading generals of the enemy. These gentlemen exchanged such simple courtesies as might be expected between officers of rank who had fought in opposing armies through many campaigns, and whose troops had, as a consequence, come to regard each other with no little respect.

Indeed, soldiers as well as officers strike a bond of sympathy, as between brothers in a foreign land, when unexpectedly acquaintances are formed between those who stood face to face in the same battle. It is true, too, that the veterans of either army habitually entertain a higher regard for the soldiers of the other than they do for those bombastic patriots whose love for the cause, be it good or bad, has been expended in urging others to the field of action. If we were to

search the whole country for the elements of the Northern and the Southern population best calculated to harmonize in the great work or "reconstruction," "rehabilitation," "regeneration," "restoration," or by whatever title is indicated a general fixing up of our national affairs, we should be most successful by bringing together the old soldiers who fought under Lee, and the sturdy veterans of the old Army of the Potomac.

About twelve o'clock, when the head of his column was not more than three miles from Appomattox Court House, General Meade received a note from General Lee, requesting, for the present, a suspension of hostilities; and, about the same time, General Sheridan's staff officer arrived with information of the state of affairs on the other side of the enemy's camp. General Meade consented to a truce of two hours, and communicated this arrangement to General Grant. The combined Second-Third Corps had the advance of this wing of the army, but had not been able to begin the day's march before eight o'clock, on account of unavoidable delay in receiving and distributing the supplies just arrived. A march of about three hours was made before the final halt, although many temporary interruptions were occasioned by the pass^{es}.

across the advancing line of the communications already spoken of.

There is one other feature of the military operations of the day, already casually referred to, which deserves mention again, as in all probability representing the very last contest between any portions of these two great armies. It will be remembered that, early in the day, shortly after the infantry arrived on the field, Davies, who had been defending the left and rear of Sheridan's or Ord's wing of the army, was ordered to engage all the Rebel cavalry he could find and to whip them, and then to repair to Appomattox Court House for further service. Apparently a good force of the enemy's cavalry had succeeded in marching toward Lynchburg around the flank of Sheridan's position, and these troops it was designed to defeat contemporaneously with the first flag of truce to Custer; they were stationed across the Lynchburg pike and Davies was disposing his troops to charge them.

The country was quite broken and troublesome fences intervened. Before we were prepared to advance, the Rebel cavalry made an impetuous attempt to break through our lines; but they were beaten back by Davies' brigade. A second charge met with the same success,

while by this time General McKenzie and Colonel Young had arrived, each with a brigade from a different part of the field, and were ready for the fresh and exciting task just assigned them.

The soldiers had learned of the grand advance, and success contemporaneously progressing in that part of the field nearer Appomattox Court House, and evinced a laudable desire of emulation. Skirmishing was brisk; many of the fences had been leveled. "To horse!" sounded; battalions and squadrons disposed for a charge, according to the nature of the ground, and all was ready for a fight. *It was to be successful*; everybody SAID so and FELT so; and then there was to be a grand pursuit which might take the pursuers half-way or even as far as Lynchburg itself. *It was to be more, too, than a simple success.* It was to destroy the Rebel cavalry force in front, known to be a portion of Fitzhugh Lee's Division. This was the work in hand.

It was just at this critical moment, when a short time longer would have made it impossible, quickly, to stop the fight, that an aide * arrived from the Court House other [East] front, bringing the startling but wel-

* The Writer.

come intelligence that hostilities were suspended; that Grant and Lee were holding negotiations for a surrender!

I said welcome intelligence. But there were some among these troops who were anxious to witness a real enthusiastic success. It had been the good fortune of most of them to have had experience of many battles, but to have participated in few or none where the opposing forces were comparatively annihilated. *Now total destruction only was being anticipated.*

But orders for the truce arrived and the charge was averted. Not, however, until some time after the general cessation of hostilities along the main lines of the army. So that there could be no doubt that the last hostile shots between the "Army of Northern Virginia" and the Army of the Potomac were exchanged by the cavalry of whom we now speak.

As to what particular regiment fired the last bullet, that is most difficult to say.*

* NOTE: The great war Secretary at the close of this memorable day thanked General Grant and his army in the following words:

"War Department, Washington April 9, 1865—9.30 p.m. Lieutenant-General Grant: Thanks be to Almighty God for the great victory with which he has this day crowned you and the gallant army under your command. The thanks of this Department and

of the Government, and of the people of the United States, their *reverence and honor*, have been deserved and *will be rendered to you* and the brave and gallant officers and soldiers of *your army for all time*.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

For further paragraphs about the ninth of April see Chapter XIII. of this book.

CHAPTER XI.*

Monday, April 10th.—Away from the battlefield.—Lee's army dispersing before the parol—Lee's farewell to his army.—How Grant escaped assassination.—News of Lincoln's fate.—The cavalry returning to Petersburg.—Incidents.—Precautions and preparations.—The new expedition.—The cavalry start for North Carolina.—Bridge making.—The scouts.—The new region.—News of Johnston's surrender to Sherman.—Crook had reached North Carolina soil.—The return march to Richmond and to Washington.—Homeward bound.—Notes, and some dispatches.

THE next morning Sheridan's Cavalry was early on the move, and marched through the bivouacs of the army *en route* again to Petersburg. *There was not a little disappointment in many quarters that no opportunity was given the victorious soldiers to observe more closely the men and officers of Lee's army. Thousands expressed their dissatisfaction at the unprecedented liberality granted to the Army of Northern Virginia, and at the manner in which it was allowed to disperse. Our soldiers did not cherish any spirit of revenge, nor any desire to see brave men humiliated; but there was a most natural anxiety on their part to catch an interior view of the remnants*

* See notes at end of this chapter XI.

of the Rebel forces, or to witness a formal surrender of the veteran host which they had so long confronted on the field of deadly strife.

The two armies lay hidden from each other, and while some of our men straggled within the enemy's lines for a coveted glimpse of the combined strength of Lee's army, the weary and destitute soldiers of the latter visited our camps and gratefully shared our soldiers' rations. The woods were filled with those who, not yet paroled, were availing themselves of the permission "to go where they pleased."

There was, too, not a little chagrin in some quarters that PICKETT and other officers of distinction who were deserters from the United States service at the outbreak of the war, should be allowed the same generous terms accorded to the others. But there was, notwithstanding, a quiet acquiescence in the final settlement which said, in the plainest terms: "Well, I guess, Grant is right after all!" The disposition to murmur soon died away and was speedily swallowed up in the joy of victory. [American patience! ANCHOR.]

The infantry ps remained near Appomattox Court House a day or two for rest, but the cavalry, being in need of forage, marched from the memorable field without

an hour's delay. The news of the surrender was received by the whole army with quiet enthusiasm—if such a term be proper. An unfeigned pleasure possessed every heart, but the victory [to the Army of the Potomac] was without one-tenth part of that exaltation and sensation with which it inspired the North. There was among the soldiers an unexplainable feeling of wonder at what would come next. [Just my sensation at the time, inserted the copyist, a conscript who served in the Shenandoah Valley and elsewhere. ANCHOR.] There was scarcely a single instance of that wild fervor which assembled the thrift and intelligence of Wall Street around the steps of the Custom House and gave the key to that grand chorus of voices which, at midday, and at the busy exchange, swelled in unison thousands of voices in praising “God from whom all blessings flow.” Not that any soldier failed to appreciate the great success, but the habitual quiet acceptance of facts as they are, surrounded every proud member of the victorious army with an halo of dignified reserve.

As to the number of men actually surrendered, accounts have much differed. It has been, however, authoritatively stated recently, “from the rolls in possession of the govern-

ment, General Lee's army, when it surrendered, contained 28,000 men [this is a very low estimate] and General Johnston's 37,000." [Associated Press dispatch from Washington.] The number actually paroled at Appomattox by General Sharpe, of General Grant's staff was a trifle over 26,000.

A low estimate of the strength of the Army of Northern Virginia when the campaign opened [pursuit commenced,] places it "between 40,000 and 50,000"—perhaps nearer the latter; that it lost over 10,000 men in killed and wounded; over 20,000 in prisoners and deserters, including those taken in battle and those picked up in the pursuit. The actual number of muskets surrendered, however, was not over 8,000 or 10,000, although more than twice that number of men were present. This, however, included teamsters, hospital and quartermaster's employees and other non-combatants, *while many of the soldiers had no arms*. At any rate the available fighting force at the time of the surrender is a matter of conjecture rather than of official report. [See ANCHOR's figures in Appendix I. of this volume, page]

The total amount of artillery captured during the battles and pursuit amounted to about 170 guns. As to the number of wag-

ons taken and destroyed, the only possible method of arriving at any accurate calculation is to ascertain from General Lee, or his responsible officer, the number which started with his army from Richmond and Petersburg, and, deducting therefrom the 200 or 250 wagons surrendered, we have the immense number previously destroyed or captured by our troops. The Rebel trains during this movement were large and cumbersome, and the animals were in bad condition and overworked. *Had Lee chosen to have abandoned all his trains, his chances of escape, in several instances, would have been excellent.* [Editor always said this, in conversation, communication and print. ANCHOR.]

In the agreement for surrender the officers gave their own parole for the men within their command. The following form of the personal parole of officers is taken from that given by General Lee and a portion of his staff:

“We, the undersigned, prisoners of war belonging to the Army of Northern Virginia, having been this day surrendered by General R. E. Lee, commanding said army, to Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding the Armies of the United States, do hereby give our solemn parole of honor that we will

not hereafter serve in the armies of the Confederate States, or in any military capacity whatever, against the United States of America, or render aid to the enemies of the latter, until properly exchanged in such manner as shall be mutually approved by the respective authorities.

R. E. LEE, General.

W. H. TAYLOR, Lieut.-Col. and A. A. G.

CHAS. S. VENABLE, Lieut.-Col. and A. A. G.

CHAS. MARSHALL, Lieut.-Col. and A. A. G.

H. E. PRATON, Lieut.-Col. and Ins.-Gen.

GILES BOOKE, Major and A. A. Surgeon-Gen.

H. S. YOUNG, A. A. G.

“Done at Appomattox Court House, Va., this ninth (9th) day of April, 1865.”

The above parole is the same given by all officers, and is countersigned as follows:

“The above-named officers will not be disturbed by United States authorities as long as they observe their parole, and the laws in force where they may reside.

GEORGE H. SHARPE,

Gen. Asst. Provost-Marshal,”

The obligation of officers for the subdivisions under their command is in form as follows:

“I, the undersigned, commanding officer

of ———, do, for the within-named prisoners of war, belonging to the Army of Northern Virginia, who have been this day surrendered by General Robert E. Lee, Confederate States Army, commanding said army, to Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding Armies of the United States, hereby give my solemn parole of honor that the within-named shall not hereafter serve in the Armies of the Confederate States, or in military, or any capacity whatever, against the United States of America, or render aid to the enemies of the latter, until properly exchanged in such manner as shall be mutually approved by the respective authorities.

“Done at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, this 9th day of April, 1865.”

“The within-named will not be disturbed by the United States authorities so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.”

On the tenth of April Lee published his farewell to his army.

GENERAL LEE'S FAREWELL TO HIS ARMY.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA.

April 10, 1865.

GENERAL ORDER No. 9.—After four years

of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them. But feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that may have attended the continuation of the contest, I determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen.

By the terms of the agreement officers and men can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend you his blessing and protection. With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

(Signed)

R. E. LEE,
General.

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To Brevet Major-General Merritt was assigned the duty of paroling the Rebel cavalry, and, after completing his work, he rejoined his command at Nottoway [Court House] on the 15th April, 1865. On the road thither he met Gen. W. H. F. Lee and staff, coming in to surrender, their men having almost entirely deserted them.

A correspondent of the daily press shrewdly remarked, concerning the general surrender: "The Rebel army laid down their arms by brigades, *but an officer remarked that a large number of men appeared without arms of any kind* * * * * *It was noticed also that all the good horses in Lee's army were private property.* General Gordon's private baggage is said to have filled four or five army wagons which were furnished to take it away." (Which fact, the author [H. E. T.] thinks, is quite doubtful.)

In a volume entitled "The Fourth Year of the War," written in the interest of the South by Pollard, and whose author is not famous for reliability, Lee's surrender is thus spoken of:

"There can be no doubt in history that Gen. Lee, in taking his army away from Richmond and Petersburg, had decided, in his own mind, upon the hopelessness of the war, and

had predetermined its surrender. The most striking proof of this is, that on his retreat there was no order published against straggling—a thing unprecedented in all deliberate and strategic retreats—and nothing whatever done to maintain discipline. The men were not animated by the style of general orders usual on such occasions. They straggled and deserted almost at will. An idea ran through the Virginia troops that, with the abandonment of Richmond, the war was hopeless, and that they would be justified in refusing to fight outside the limits of their State. Nothing was done to check the notorious circulation of this notion in the army. The Virginia troops scattered off to their homes at almost every mile of the route. We have seen that Pickett was left with only a handful of men. [NOTE.—Sheridan can also tell why ‘Pickett was left with only a handful of men.’ H. E. T.] Some of the brigade commanders had not hesitated to advise their men that the war was virtually over, and that they had better go home and ‘make crops.’

“But there are other proofs, besides the omission of the measures against straggling usual on retreats, that General Lee had prevised a surrender of his army. He carried

off from Petersburg and Richmond all the transportation of his army, sufficient, perhaps, for one hundred thousand men—certainly largely in excess of the actual needs of the retreat. The excessive number of Virginia troops who were permitted to drop out of the ranks and return to their homes shows very well that there was no firm purpose to carry the war out of the limits of that State. Prisoners taken on the retreat invariably reported that the army was soon to be halted for a surrender; and General Custis Lee, when captured by the enemy, is alleged to have made the same revelation of his father's designs."

The return march of Sheridan's cavalry * was continued, without any special interest, towards Burkesville, and, except at nights, no halts were made until the column arrived at Nottoway Court House, a little station on the Southside railroad and the county-seat, as its name implies. Here the command expected to recuperate.

General Grant had hastened to Petersburg and thence to Washington, for conference as to the future. While North, he took occasion to make a flying visit to his family and thus

* See note (a) at end of this Chapter.

narrowly escaped the blow of the assassin prepared for him. Not so with the lamented Lincoln. The crowning martyr to a glorious, but tedious though successful war, he had shared its trials and hardships, had watched its struggles with paternal care, had guided its issues. The vicissitudes of the contest had educed his wisdom and the bloody scenes of this national drama were closed with the vile and mournful tragedy of his death.

It had been a warm spring day. The camps were basking in the sun. The soldiers lolled carelessly about, or built little fires and washed their clothes along the banks of the Nottoway. In the absence of the blacksmith they tinkered at a loose horseshoe or burnished a cherished carbine, polished an honored saber, wiped Virginia mud from equipments, patched a dilapidated bridle, or straggled out of camp in search of chickens, horses and other good things, or amused themselves with divers employments congenial to the modern disciples of Mars. More than an ordinary halt in the march, it was one of those well-defined periods in a campaign whence each one dates a fresh experience, a "landmark" of time about which to group facts of history. *It was really the first calm after the storm, the first resting spell which the cavalry had*

enjoyed since leaving Petersburg to begin the grand advance of this spring campaign, and a convenient opportunity to review the eventful doings of the past ten days. Soldiers only can appreciate these periods.

Martial music appropriately toned the evening scenes and the bands had concluded their indifferent attempts. There was no moon, the stars were shining brightly. A cheerful rail fire broke the night chill and crackled merrily on the neat grass plot of an old dooryard, fitfully lighting into view the background of white folds of open and inviting tents. A group of officers lazily reclined in Turkish postures on blankets and overcoats, smoking, recounting experiences and chatting over the scenes of the past two weeks as only such groups can talk. The virtues of the slain were feelingly narrated, the successes of the living freely discussed. There was a sense of relief, freedom from care, an appreciation of the absence of all possible alarm, a quiet contentment that nothing was likely to disturb, and a general relish of security and peace. Not only was the campaign ended, but the conclusion of the war seemed now inevitable. The serenity and quiet of the evening was only broken by the soft notes of the bugles as the night breeze wafted their

musical "tattoo." Comfort and contentment were reigning supreme.

The spurs and saber of an officer on duty suddenly rattled by the group.

"What's your hurry?" says one, making room for another in the little circle.

"Bad news to-night, boys," briefly answers the aide, as he hurries by towards the general's quarters.

"What is it? What is it?" is eagerly asked, and the whispering reply is caught:

"THE PRESIDENT IS ASSASSINATED!"

Who believed it? Each man sought an explanation in the amazed and saddened countenance of his neighbor. Who dared repeat the message? Did you understand him correctly? There must be some mistake. Silent and contemplative faces waited around that camp-fire. Presently the aide reappeared. He explained, reading a brief dispatch from the War Department (from Major Eckhart) to General Meade, who in turn had sent it from Burkesville to General Sheridan. It announced that **PRESIDENT LINCOLN HAD BEEN ASSASSINATED AT FORD'S THEATER; he was insensible and would not likely recover.**

Verily was a pall cast over the nation, as

on the next morning (April 16th) after this tragic deed, men of one accord closed their places of business, and, instead of celebrating the nuptials of a re-united people, felt that the country was turned into a house of mourning. But the silent anger and grievous sadness in the army! Who will depict it? Every soldier felt the loss of a personal friend!

Revenge and retribution found no little favor among many natures; sadness was in all. "*'Twas well,*" said one, "*that this did not happen before the surrender of General Lee!*" and the significant sentiment met with a deep response. The soldiers gathered in groups, discussing the subject in a subdued and reverential manner. Strong and hardy men, commanders, too, of others, bent in tears among their comrades. Who shall tell the stories of the next day as the sad news floated through the camps? The army wept!

[ANCHOR says: "There was one man in the army of the Potomac who saw all this clearly, and spoke out in trumpet tones—Major-General Horatio G. Wright. He has not been mentioned in the course of the Third Corps biography more than was indispensably necessary, because the writer was desirous of avoiding any side issues, but by no means because

the noble commander of the Sixth Corps was not fully appreciated. Were it necessary to cite proofs of the nobility of soul possessed by the "Burster into Petersburg," one would be almost sufficient to demonstrate the man, viz., his dispatch to Maj.-Gen. A. S. Webb, Chief of Staff, Army of the Potomac, of the 15th April, 1865, in connection with the death of Lincoln:

"HEADQUARTERS SIXTH ARMY CORPS.

April 15th, 1865.

Major-General Webb, Chief of Staff:

With deepest sorrow the dispatch, announcing the assassination of the President of the United States and the Secretary and Assistant-Secretary of State, is received, and I advise that every officer of the Rebel army within control of the Army of the Potomac be at once closely confined, with a view to retaliation upon their persons for so horrible an outrage.

H. G. WRIGHT, *Major-General.*"]

The march of the cavalry towards Petersburg was resumed and continued, without further incident, under General Crook, General Sheridan having preceded the command for better communication with General Halleck at Richmond and General Grant at Washington.

A corps having been left at Appomattox Court House, to attend to the details of matters connected with the paroling and disbanding of Lee's army, the Army of the Potomac withdrew to Burkesville Junction and the Ninth Corps was distributed along the Southside railroad. Sheridan camped his cavalry corps at Petersburg.

All eyes were now turned towards North Carolina and Johnston's army. The fate of the latter was certain, yet without an immediate surrender, an active campaign in North Carolina was inevitable.

General Grant had sped to Washington immediately after Lee's surrender, and the first orders from the government were issued looking towards a retrenchment of necessary military expenditures. The victories around Petersburg; its fall; the capture of Richmond; the successful battles in the hasty pursuit; the final surrender of the Rebel Army of Northern Virginia; the assassination of the President; and the simultaneous attacks on the lives of the nation's leaders; had thrilled the country with the intensest excitement. The public mind was prepared for any news and yet could scarcely comprehend the passing events of day to day.

But the skill and wisdom of the head of the

Union armies did not stand startled and quiescent at success. Each moment was appreciated and every opportunity grasped. Johnston's Rebel army had acknowledged itself to be at bay before those marching hosts of Sherman; and the wily Rebel leaders sought to take advantage, themselves, of the discomfiture of their brethren elsewhere to gain wide and retrieving terms in support of their falling fortunes. Sherman's "arrangement," which it is not proposed to discuss, was quickly vetoed in Washington, and the Lieutenant-General himself became the messenger of a new program. He started at once for Sherman's headquarters in North Carolina, having first, however, taken such preparatory measures as would be rendered necessary in case Johnston should decline the "unconditional surrender" which was now to be demanded and enforced.

As far as Sheridan and the Army of the Potomac were concerned, these wise precautions comprised orders to the former to be prepared to move his whole force, with such a number of rations and light supplies as indicated a long campaign without an immediate base; and to the latter for the detachment of the Sixth Army Corps, under General

Wright, which was to be ready to march under similar conditions.*

Nothing more favorable being heard from Johnston, these two columns were put in motion, both under the command of General Sheridan, the Sixth Corps moving from Burkesville on Sunday the 24th and the cavalry from Petersburg on Monday, 25th April. The infantry column marched directly south along the Richmond and Danville Railroad, towards Danville, while the cavalry left Petersburg by the now famous Boydton plankroad. It was expected, therefore, that after three or four days the two columns would unite near the southern boundary of Virginia and march thence into North Carolina, to operate as circumstances might require.

The march of the cavalry was without special interest, the country traveled over being well worn out with war and possessing naturally but few attractions. The spring weather was becoming warm and the roads dry and dusty. The Boydton plankroad bore painful evidences of having once been a "plank" road, and its dilapidated condition added seriously to the difficulties of the march. Troublesome creeks and rivers, where bridges had been destroyed, were to be crossed and occa-

* See note (b) at end of this Chapter.

sioned no little delay. Rebel officers and soldiers of Lee's army now and then were met, many of whom, not yet paroled, strolled to the column for protection, a parole, or out of idle curiosity.

At the crossing of Stony Creek, the ford was found to be impracticable, but the abutments and piers of the bridge appeared in good order; all else was destroyed. With tools and a few skilled workmen the bridge might, in ordinary times, have been repaired in a day or two. Now a few beams floated about in the stream as the only material, axes the only implements and soldiers the only workmen on hand. The bridge must be rebuilt. A regiment of troopers dismounted and their officers set to work in right earnest. It was in the middle of the day and every hour delayed the march. Sheridan, Crook, Davies, and other generals who happened to be near the head of the column, watched and nursed the work, so that *in less than three hours* a complete bridge, fifteen feet high and thirty to forty feet long, was ready for the passage of cavalry, artillery and trains. [This activity is notable and contrasts with the inactivity at Farmville, 7th April. ANCHOR.] Meanwhile two Rebels officers rode up and watched the scene. After a short time said

one to a soldier near him, "No wonder you Yankees always get along so fast. Our men would never have gone to work to rebuild this bridge in that way."

"What would you have done?"

"We would have waited for the 'construction corps' and the niggers to come up, or else dashed in and forded the river anyhow."

"Suppose you had artillery?"

"Oh, we would have emptied the caissons, carried the ammunition across the foot-bridge and pushed ahead."

To have adopted this course would have crossed a few men, rendered the ford impracticable, separated the command and thus delayed the march. This was the difference between Southern enterprise and Yankee ingenuity. The latter would give the entire column a short halt and an unimpeded passage of the river, the former would have created accident and delay. The compliment, however, to Sheridan's soldiers, was gracefully paid by one of the foemen who had fought them, and as kindly received as it was intended.

The general impression of the people along the route of march was that Johnston's army had already surrendered. They had heard

of the first truce which was agreed upon between Sherman and his opponent and taken it for granted that the latter's terms would be acceded to, or that the armistice must end in a surrender. They believed that the present march of Sheridan through the country was entirely uncalled for. They were unable to appreciate the policy of subjecting their beautiful country of Southern Virginia, hitherto scarcely visited by troops from either army, to the devastation and scourge of war.

The chief feature of this peaceful march of Sheridan was the new experience of traveling through the enemy's country without the ordinary precautions of war. Four years of life *a la qui vive*, which is, or should be, the normal condition of a soldier, gave to a journey, without it, a joyous and reckless character. The weather was pleasant, the beauties of spring just budding and the country betokening comparatively few evidences of the civil strife now happily drawing to a close. Brigades and divisions marched without advanced guards or the delays of reconnoitering. Officers preceded the columns daily for miles, to select appropriate bivouacs, a convenient practise not heretofore within the bounds of prudence. Regular and irregular foraging parties scoured the country for

miles on each flank of the column, and woe to the innocent quadrupeds which fell in their path.*

The region along the Dan and Staunton rivers always enjoyed a favorable reputation for its stock, and knowing, as the soldiers did, that few, if any, troops had ever visited it, every nerve was strained to discover and seize its horses. Every negro was interrogated,

* [This reads like Michelet's paragraph summing up the conquest of the kingdom of Naples in 1495, "A captain without soldiers was sent into Calabria to require the submission of the province," the most savage of barbarous districts, the ancient Bruttii, so faithful or submissive to Hannibal, a country and people which, between the great "Carthaginian" and earthquakes, have not recuperated in 2,000 years. "In every direction the French soldiers, armor laid aside, in undress, their feet in slippers, went about with pieces of chalk, marking their lodgings." The famous and infamous Borgia said, that "the French expedition of (six-toed and six-fingered) Charles VIII., (in this respect like the Philistine giant of the Hebrew Chronicles, or the six-toed Henry the Pious; or the two-thumbed Princess Hedwig Sophia, of Sweden),—had conquered Italy, not with steel, but with chalk;" and, Macaulay observes, "The only exploit which they had found necessary, for the purpose of taking military occupation of any place, had been to mark [with chalk] the doors of the houses where they meant to quarter." To cite another example, the "court chaplain, in speaking of this expedition" (the campaign of Gustavus Adolphus in Kurland, Semigallia and East Prussia, in 1626), "said, 'The King took cities with as much promptitude as he crossed the country on horseback.'"—STEVENS, 187.]

"J. W. DE P."

every stable searched. The news of our approach spread through the country as if by telegraph, and farmers rushed their animals to the woods and swamps, endeavoring in every imaginable way to secrete them from the search of the omnipresent troopers. The "intelligent contraband," however, appeared in his old character, as an unfailing well of information, and, either from natural sympathy, or personal fear, in nine cases out of ten revealed the concealments of the coveted animals. Many a valuable steed was thus obtained. Indeed it was scarcely possible that for ten and often for twenty-five miles off each flank of the line of march, a single horse could escape capture, so thorough was the search for a prize most highly esteemed among these energetic troopers. It seemed hard, often, to take from his comfortable stall the pet of the family, or to lead out a clean-limbed, nimble little mare for the heavy packs and saddle of the cavalry-man. But was it inappropriate for the stern-eyed, haughty and wilful stallion to be "drafted into the army." Yet it was harsh to leave the plow standing in the furrow; and who could fail to be moved by the pitiful appeals of the poor people, begging that their animals might be spared, lest the crop should fail

and children ask for bread in vain. But we sadly needed the horses in the column.

"Sheridan's scouts," on this expedition, were more ubiquitous than ever. Being in appearance undistinguishable from the ex-Rebel soldiers, who were by this time well dispersed through the country, and being relieved of the natural caution exercised by campaigners in the presence of the enemy, these enterprising individuals extended their rides for many miles in every direction, meeting with numerous opportunities to expedite their journeys by the resident relays awaiting them on every farm. Their incursions and excursions, however, were not without profit in a strictly military, as well as personal, point of view. They learned the character of the country, its resources and the various roads, and, thus, each night assisted the commander to determine the most feasible line of march for the day following. If a bridge had disappeared they learned all about the fords or the probable length of time it would take to rebuild an old or to construct a new one.

Their most remarkable success, however, about this time, was the construction of a complete bridge over the Staunton river, near its confluence with the Dan. The stream at

this point is wide and turbulent, and Sheridan's cavalry column was not provided with a pontoon train. Unless a crossing could be effected in this locality a detour of many miles, causing a delay of several days, would be necessary in marching higher up the stream to a more established crossing. The Sixth Corps had crossed the Stanton River near the Richmond and Danville railroad; but, if Sheridan should now be obliged to cross at the same point, the cavalry would be in the awkward position of two or three days' march behind the infantry. This, on approaching an enemy, would be almost excusable in any commander. Under these circumstances it was not a little embarrassing to find that the excellent road along which we were now marching led only to an ordinary flat-boat ferry, over which to transport five thousand cavalry, with its light trains and artillery, would occupy perhaps a week.

The scouts dispersed up and down the river banks for miles. Clarksville, a little village to the south, was visited, and on one pretext or another, and by the compulsory employment of any negroes whose labor could be made available in one day, a large number of flat-boats were collected and "poled" to the ferry. These boats were about twenty-five

feet long and just wide enough to admit a wagon. The river could not have been less than two hundred feet broad and was quite deep. The current was rapid, and it seemed inevitable that the column must halt and paddle itself across with great delay in small detachments. It appeared impossible to bridge it. Yet, one by one the flat-boats arrived from up and down the stream, and, as it happened, all were of the same size. It was at once determined to fasten them together as firmly as the odd ropes and chains collected would permit. It was ascertained that there were just enough boats to reach across the stream and with remarkable ingenuity they were soon swinging into the current, a few of them anchored and, in almost as short a time as it takes to lay a pontoon bridge of the same length, a secure passage for the column was provided. It could scarcely be supposed that this frail structure would have supported the burden of a large cavalry force, yet, without a moment's delay, the whole command crossed without a single accident. The scouts, however, accustomed to move with the advance, did not watch the result of their engineering skill with the result of *connoisseurs*, and, with the troops fairly across, left the bridge to look after itself, so

that, when the lumbering commissary trains attempted to cross, they found themselves too late. The bridge had just broken and the flat-boats were floating carelessly down the stream.

The impromptu construction of this bridge and the rapid crossing over it of Sheridan's cavalry column is an episode worthy of serious attention by the military student. Had it occurred during more active operations, in the presence of an enemy, it would have been recorded as one of the most remarkable instances of industry and enterprise in the history of war. [A similar conception was that of Colonel Bailey, when he bridged (18th May, 1864) the Atchafalaya, at Simms' Port, over 1,800 feet (about a third of a mile) across with steamboats, over which the wagon train passed 19th May, P. M. ANCHOR.] How will the work of energetic unprofessionals, so successfully and skilfully completed, compare with the efforts of those military *savants*, which were manifested earlier in the war in digging earth before an inferior foe, and in proposing that a victorious and pursuing army should construct a line of defense as a protection from a retreating enemy!

It may not be generally known that, after the battle of Williamsburg [5th May,

1862] on the Peninsula, in May, 1862, one of General McClellan's representatives asked General Heintzelman (commanding the troops of Hooker and Kearney, by whom the battle was won) if he did not think it would be advisable to construct *a military road across* the Peninsula, to aid the communication between the wings of the army in the *new line of defense* which was about to be assumed. At this moment the fighting was over and the enemy under Magruder [Longstreet] were in full retreat. General Heintzelman also received orders the next morning not to advance his troops without further authority. Kearney's division was at that moment pursuing the rear-guard.

At the Staunton river, Sheridan had learned that Wright, with the advance of the Sixth Corps, had entered Danville without opposition. The cavalry therefore pushed on up the Dan river for the first available crossing, with the intention of marching by the shortest route for Greensboro, North Carolina, or if the enemy was found to be too troublesome, to unite with the Sixth Corps at some convenient point south of the Dan. The bridge over the latter, at South Boston Station on the Danville Railroad, presented the first opportunity; and on the afternoon of Friday,

April 28th, Sheridan here encamped, Crook's command being crossed to the south bank.

Early in the afternoon, while the troops were being assigned to their various bivouacs, General Sheridan received a dispatch from General Halleck at Richmond, informing him of the final surrender of Johnston to Sherman upon the same terms accorded by General Grant to General Lee at Appomattox Court House, and ordering General Sheridan with his troops to return at once to Petersburg.

The necessity of obtaining forage and the eager horse hunts had scattered small parties through the country in every direction. Some even penetrated as far south as Roxbury and Yanceyville and several visited Milton, North Carolina. Every flat-boat ferry over the Dan was used by one or more of these venturesome foragers, who met with not a few interesting adventures. They became thoroughly acquainted with the spirit and temper of the inhabitants, as well as with the resources of the country. The news of the presence of these foragers in any particular locality was quickly noised abroad, and, as Johnston's surrender was in these parts believed to have taken place at the time of the original truce between Sherman and himself. not a few of the people

openly disputed the right of roving troopers to inspect their stables. This fact only increased their misfortunes and led to a more vigilant and determined search. As parties from Wheeler's Rebel cavalry were riding about North Carolina, pillaging and helping themselves to stock in some localities, the citizens had improvised small bodies to protect themselves. It therefore happened sometimes that our men narrowly escaped serious encounters and in a few instances single collisions actually occurred, one of which was fatal. Some of these foragers had extended their operations so far from the main body of the corps that they did not succeed in rejoining Sheridan until after he had reached the camp at Petersburg.

The return march was without noteworthy incident, unless the parade of the cavalry corps through the city be recorded. Dusty and triumphant, that series of reviews through Petersburg, Richmond and Washington, of Sheridan's, Sherman's and Meade's grand armies commenced one pleasant afternoon in the streets of the city around which for now nearly a year great hosts had battled, and where the skill, science, industry and magnitude of war was without a parallel. The people naturally were worn out with battle

and manifested little or no interest in the affair, while the irrepressible negro watched the passing array with unobtrusive grinning satisfaction. The cavalry corps was encamped on the north bank of the Appomattox.

The Army of the Potomac soon arrived in Richmond, and these war-worn veterans marched as victors through the city at which they had toiled and fought for nearly four bloody years. Generals Halleck and Meade reviewed them *en passant*. The troops continued their course over the old battle-grounds of Virginia, across war-worn fields, through destroyed villages, old encampments half hidden in the underbrush, and passing uncultivated wastes on which solitary chimneys stood as monuments of a complete desolation. Did not the hand of Providence guide those hosts on their homeward march along the former fields of strife, to impress on each the image of "grim-visaged war" and the "wrinkled front" of its declining days, that the veteran might the more appreciate his home of happiness and prosperity, peace and virtue.

Sherman's armies, after most expeditious marches, were soon reviewed in Petersburg and followed on to Richmond. Sheridan now turned over the command of his cavalry to Major-General George Crook and himself re-

paired to Washington for consultation with the Lieutenant-General.

Before the corps was placed *en route* for Washington, however, General Gregg's brigade of Crook's Division was sent to garrison Lynchburg and the surrounding country, and General Smith's Brigade was assigned to the same duty at Petersburg. Taking up, then, the line of march, the remainder of the corps started north, passing General Sherman's armies in camp near Manchester. Marching through Richmond without display it continued towards Washington by a westerly route *via* Louisa Court House and Warrenton Junction, crossing the Rapidan at Raccoon Ford and the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford. This detour was rendered judicious in order to leave the more direct roads unobstructed for the march of Sherman's infantry, artillery and trains. By this route many scenes of former conflicts were visited and reminiscences revived of Sheridan's first raid about Richmond. This, it will be remembered, had occurred just a year previous, during that memorable campaign of Grant from the Rappahannock to the James. "Yellow Tavern" was passed, scarcely a mile or two out of Richmond, where fell the famous Rebel cavalryman, J. E. B. Stuart, and whence—

as his followers now acknowledge—*nothing could have seriously prevented the march of Sheridan's troopers through the streets of the Rebel capital.* The line of the Virginia Central railroad was observed until the column approached another battlefield at Trevellian Station. The railroad was lined with evidences of destruction and decay; violence and want of repairs, in some instances, had rendered it scarcely passable. Temporary shanties or silent ruins were often all that remained of the former depots.

Stevensburg was passed, with its existence known only by a name on the map; one or two houses were standing, and only an experienced antiquarian could have discovered evidences of a village. The beautiful country between the Rapidan and the north fork of the Rappahannock was rich with the verdure of innocent spring, but it afforded scarce an object of animate life. Not even the "intelligent contraband" greeted the "true blues." Of fences there were none. The fresh sunlight of heaven smiled anew across the overgrown fields; the old log huts of the army camps were falling to decay, as if conscious of approaching peace; the feathered songsters chirped merrily through the pleasant woods; the little streams rejoiced again

in mountain purity; "vain man" seemed to have departed and his lands regenerated and rededicated to freedom.

The valley of the Rapidan, the beautiful slopes of rolling Culpepper charmed the eye; the desolate hearthstones chilled the heart; the ruined homes awakened sympathy. Then, a little ways beyond, the half-covered grave re-opened that wound, and an ill-fated battle-ground recalled the present triumph. From the Rappahannock to Centerville, every inch of the ground might tell a battle story. Who will attempt to conjecture the silent emotions of these homeward bound veterans, as they marched finally and peacefully across the historic fields of Virginia.

(a) Sheridan's Cavalry departed from the place of surrender the following morning under the following order:

"Cavalry Headquarters, Appomattox Court-House, April 9, 1865. The First, Second, and Third Cavalry Divisions of this command will move out at 8 A. M. to-morrow on the road through Appomattox Court-House, via Walker's church and Farmville, to Burke's Station. The following will be the order of march: First; Second Cavalry Division, Major-General Crook commanding; Second, the command of Major-General Merritt. The Second Cavalry Division will encamp to-morrow night in the vicinity of Prospect Station. The command of Brevet-Major-General Merritt will encamp between Walker's church and Prospect Station, at such points as may be best for the collection of forage for the command. All trains, except those of headquarters, will follow in rear of the column. The commanding officer of

the rear division will furnish a small guard as escort for train. The general commanding would like to have the whole of the cavalry file through Appomattox Court-House in the order above designated. The command will move by fours and well closed up. By command of Major-General Sheridan; JAS. W. FORSYTH, Brevet-Brigadier-General and Chief of Staff."

(b) The expedition under Sheridan to go to Sherman's army in North Carolina was in pursuance of the orders of Lieutenant-General Grant formulated while he was himself journeying at his utmost speed to meet General Sherman at Raleigh during the truce that had been arranged between Sherman and Johnston.

These orders are of interest here, as well as some of the correspondence that preceded them.

"Washington, April 16, 1865, Major-General Sheridan, Nottoway, Va. : The following is forwarded for your information : 'Smithfield, N. C., April 12, 1865: 5 A. M. Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding armies of the United States, Va. : General: I have this moment received your telegram announcing the surrender of Lee's army. I hardly know how to express my feelings, but you can imagine them. The terms you have given Lee are magnanimous and liberal. Should Johnston follow Lee's example, I shall, of course, grant the same. He is retreating before me on Raleigh, and I shall be there to-morrow. Roads are heavy but under the inspiration of the news from you we can march twenty-five miles a day. I am now twenty-seven miles from Raleigh, but some of my army is eight miles behind. If Johnston retreats south I will follow him to insure the scattering of his forces and capture the locomotives and cars at Charlotte, but I take it he will surrender at Raleigh. Kilpatrick's cavalry is ten miles to the south and west of me, viz, on Middle Creek, and I have sent Major Audenried with orders to make for the south and west of Raleigh to impede the enemy if he goes beyond Raleigh. All the infantry is fronted straight for Raleigh

by five different roads. The railroad is being repaired from Goldsborough to Raleigh, but I will not aim to carry it farther. I shall expect to hear of Sheridan in case Johnston does not surrender at Raleigh. With a little more cavalry I would be sure to capture the whole army. Yours, truly,

W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General, commanding.
U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"Nottoway Court-House, April 16, 1865. (Received 11.50 A. M.) Lieutenant-General Grant: I was about to move the cavalry to City Point to refit and feed the horses. It is impossible to get the command in good condition at this place. The railroad is in such bad condition that it cannot furnish the necessary allowance of forage and other supplies. Thus far I have not been able to get anything. I will not move till I hear from you.

P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

"Washington, April 16, 1865—3.30 P. M. Major General Sheridan, Nottoway Court-House, Va.: Your dispatch of this date received. Can you not move from 6,000 to 8,000 cavalry to join Sherman? I have sent you two dispatches on the subject, besides two from Sherman directed to Burkeville, which I judge from yours you have not received. Telegraph up for them, and if they are not there let me know and I will have them repeated. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General.

Note. If you have no cipher operator send to General Meade for one.

U. S. G."

On 16th April Sheridan left Nottoway Court-House for City Point telegraphing Grant.

"Nottoway, April 16, 1865. Lieutenant General: Is the reported assassination of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, which reached here last night, true? P. H. SHERIDAN, Major General."

The answer was from General Grant's Chief of Staff at Washington:

"Washington, April 16, 1865—7 P. M. Maj. Gen. P. H. Sheridan, Nottoway Court-House, Va.: The reported assassination of President Lincoln is true.

He died yesterday morning at 7.22. His murderer is supposed to be J. Wilkes Booth, who is still at large. Mr. Seward is still living but is in a very critical condition. JNO. A. RAWLINS, Chief of Staff."

"City Point, Va., April 16, 1865. Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, Washington: After sending my dispatch to you this morning I came down to this place to find the true condition of the railroad. I am satisfied that the command cannot be supplied and refitted at Nottoway in any reasonable time. If I could drop back to the vicinity of Petersburg forage could be sent up the river. I am anxious to make the march you spoke of yesterday in your telegram, and will gain time by coming back to Petersburg or this place. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

"Washington, April, 16, 1865—10 P. M. Major-General Sheridan, City Point. Va.: You may bring your cavalry back to Petersburg, or where you can make the most time for you to move in conjunction with Sherman. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General."

"City Point, Va., April, 16, 1865—10.30 P. M. (Received 11.45 P. M.) Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant. Washington: I have telegraphed for the dispatches from Sherman that you refer to. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major General."

"City Point, April 16, 1865. Lieut. Col. F. C. Newhall, Asst. Adjt. Gen. Cavalry Headquarters, Nottoway Court-House: We are now here. Send any dispatches that you may have for the general to this place, President Lincoln died last night at 7.7. P. M. The President was stabbed at Ford's Theater by J. Wilkes Booth, the actor. JAS. W. FORSYTH, Brevet Brigadier-General and Chief of Staff." [to Major-General Sheridan]

"Cavalry Headquarters, City Point. April 16, 1865. Lieut. Col. F. C. Newhall, Assistant Adjutant-General, Nottoway Court-House: Have you any dispatches for General Sheridan from General Sherman? If you have, send them here at once. JAS. W. FORSYTH, Brevet Brigadier-General and Chief of Staff."

"Cavalry Headquarters, April, 16, 1865. Lieutenant Colonel Newhall, Assistant Adjutant-General,

Nottoway Court-House: The cavalry will move to-morrow morning for Petersburg. Bring forward all our headquarters with the command. JAS. W. FORSYTH, Chief of Staff."

"Cavalry Headquarters, City Point, April 16, 1865. Major-General Crook, Commanding Cavalry, Nottoway Court-House: The major-general commanding directs that you move back with all the cavalry now at Nottoway Court-House to Petersburg. This movement to begin to-morrow morning. Acknowledge receipt. Camping grounds will be selected in advance for you near Petersburg. JAS. W. FORSYTH, Chief of Staff."

"FORT MONROE, April 22, 1865—4 P. M. Received 5.30 P. M. Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck, Richmond: The truce entered into by General Sherman will be ended as soon as I can reach Raleigh. Move Sheridan with his cavalry toward Greensborough as soon as possible. I think it will be well to send one corps of infantry with the cavalry. The infantry need not go farther than Danville unless they receive orders hereafter.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"RICHMOND, April 22, 1865—7 P. M. Received 7.30 P. M. Major General Meade: Put a corps of infantry at the disposition of General Sheridan. It will immediately move South on Danville, subject there, and en route, to the orders of General Sheridan. Give orders accordingly. General Grant is en route to Raleigh, and may send this army corps orders direct to Danville.

H. W. HALLECK, Major-General."

"Headquarters Military Division of the James, Richmond, Va., April 22, 1865—7 P. M. Major-General Sheridan. In the Field: You will move with your cavalry immediately on Greensborough, N. C. You will then act as circumstances may seem to require, unless you receive instructions from General Grant, who is on his way to Raleigh. General Meade has been directed to place an infantry corps under your direction. It is said here that there is a large amount

specie on the road between here and Charlotte. It is supposed to have been taken at different points from the railroad and to be in wagons. The railroad employes are said to know all about this, and will tell if forced to do so. While pushing south with all possible dispatch look to these things.

H. W. HALLECK, Major-General, Commanding."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Petersburg, Va., April 23, 1865—9.35 P. M. Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck, Richmond, Va.: If I move the cavalry from this place on the morning of the 25th will that meet your expectations? I can, by forcing, move on Monday, the 24th, but would like to have till the morning of the 25th. Please direct that the corps which is to come from General Meade be directed to report to me by telegraph at once so that I may give the proper directions about supplies. I think that the infantry cannot be gotten off before the 25th.

P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General, U.S. Army, Commanding."

"PETERSBURG, April 23, 1865—11.30 P. M. Major-General Wright, Commanding Sixth Corps: If you can move to-morrow morning do so, and move on the road along the Weldon road parallel to it; and continue your movement to Danville. The cavalry will move from here on Monday morning via the Boynton road, and will join you at Danville or at some point on the railroad north to Dan River. If you can conveniently increase the small rations to sixteen days do so. I will accompany the cavalry column until we form a junction. Should you get to Danville before the cavalry does, remain there till the junction is formed. Acknowledge receipt by telegram. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

"Cavalry Headquarters, Petersburg, Va., April 23, 1865—11.30 P. M. Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck, Richmond, Va.: The Sixth Army Corps has reported to me and will march from Burke's Station to-morrow morning for Danville. I will probably move on Monday morning with the cavalry and will join the Sixth Corps at some point on the railroad north of Danville. P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

CHAPTER XII.*

The Great Review at Washington of all the armies.—The rendezvous.—Sheridan absent because ordered to Texas.—The cavalry camp, and dispersion of the corps.—Its records boxed in July.—Gradually disbanded without any formal order.—See Appendix II and III and notes.

By the middle of May [1865,] two hundred thousand veterans had encamped about the [national] capital. South of the Potomac the country was for miles a vast camp. It was but an item of the host that you might view from any one of the fortified hills; yet, glance in any direction, toward any point of the compass, and in that line of vision alone an army appeared, stronger than that which was supported by [or at the disposal of] the Continental Congress [during the Revolutionary War, or our First Struggle for Independence]. The garrisons of the numerous forts straightened themselves up and looked with pride on the less punctilious but honored campaigners about them.

It had been scarcely three years since the

* See Appendix : II. and III.

first grand army of the republic [alluding to the Army of the Potomac in 1862] had moved from the same grounds in search of an enemy who fled ere its first advance. War-worn and weather-beaten, after perils and adventures by land and by sea, after retreats and victories, battles and sieges, the vicissitudes of burning summers or shivering winters, after pleasant marches, or experiences of snow, ice and mud, these veterans now returned to end their military career where it had voluntarily begun. The dome of the Capitol was visible from every camp. The soldiers saw it and remembered that when they started it was unfinished. Now it typified their success. Freedom was triumphant! The nation was entire! When the fiat of emancipation was proclaimed the Queen of Freedom was enthroned. It was only then that the Statue of Liberty surmounted and adorned the nation's Capitol!

Preparations were now commenced for the Grand Review with which it was proposed to honor the triumphant armies as well as to give the country and the troops an opportunity to appreciate the military power which was about to be dissolved, and the strength and energy of which was soon to be absorbed in the arts of peace.

Objections in some quarters had been hinted against any pageant or attempt at a holiday display so soon after the death of him for whom the nation was mourning. But its propriety was very generally conceded, and, in view of all the circumstances, the close of so severe a struggle, the inauguration of a new President, the assembling at the capitol of the grandest and one of the largest armies the world ever saw, the discharge and dissolution of these veterans so soon to occur, and the universal desire of the people to give the soldiers who had won their victories every official and substantial recognition of the value of their services within the power of the United States to bestow, the wise consideration prevailed; so that the motives for the proposed review could not be misconceived; while its effect, both on the troops themselves, on the officials at the head of the government, on the people at large and on the powers and populations of foreign nations, all justified its propriety and usefulness.

Soon after the arrival of the various armies about Washington the city began to be rapidly filled up with strangers from all sections of the country. When the time of the review was formally announced, every train brought hosts of the relatives and friends of the

troops. By the time the actual display occurred, it was estimated that there were more people in Washington than at any inauguration within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. Hotels reaped a harvest and in the usual Washington style. Men stood behind each others' chairs at table and took their turn in attempting to make a meal.

On the 18th of May the initiatory order for the review was thus announced: * * *

The troops which were here named to participate in review comprised commands which had served in every insurrectionary district and were representatives from every loyal state. There were in Sherman's army men who had been with Grant at Shiloh; who had campaigned in Missouri and Arkansas; who had fought at the siege and in the battles about Vicksburg; who had accompanied Sherman in his famous unsuccessful raid from the Mississippi to Meridan; who had been transferred from the Mississippi to Tennessee; who had participated in the glorious summer campaign culminating at Atlanta; who had made the "March to the Sea," and through the Carolinas, in those series of extensive operations which ended at Chappel Hill in the surrender of Johnston's Rebel

* See Appendix II.

army; who had thence walked across the broad and beautiful state of Virginia to the fallen capital of the enemy; who had trodden the sacred grounds of the Potomac battle-fields; and who had finished at the nation's capital a military career, perhaps begun on the Ohio and including in its varied experience the valleys of the principal rivers, from the Missouri to the Potomac. Few soldiers, indeed, can boast of fortunes so diverse; yet there were such veterans gaily cooking coffee around the bivouac fires, the smoke of which girdled in close and small or farther and farther and more expansive circles the White House.

It was regretted on the part of many, who had some definite notion of the nature of a military review, that there was not to be a formation of all the troops, so that the grand whole of their imposing lines might be enjoyed from some eligible locality by a comprehensive view. But the number of troops would have made a mass too unwieldy to manoeuvre on any locality adjacent to the national capital. The topography of the country about Washington is at best unfavorable, while the presence of the river between the proposed scene of the review and the main camps of the army presented another very

serious difficulty. A marching review only was practicable; and this informal display would, perhaps, be the more appropriate in any case, in view of the recent public bereavement. As soon as it was known, however, that Pennsylvania Avenue was to become the ground to be made classic by the tread of this veteran and triumphant host, the whole country was alive for the sight. The fact was quite forgotten that it was to be simply a "march" of the troops through the city, and that one regiment and one brigade looked very like another, and that each day would witness the same constant, never-ending stream of bayonets and blue.

Workmen had already commenced to prepare stands for the accommodation of the reviewing officers and the military and civil dignitaries who were expected to be present on the occasion. Immediately in front of the White House the main stand was erected, and directly opposite another stand for certain staff officers and others who were fortunate enough to secure places thereon. Not far distant were other smaller stands, erected by different officials for the accommodation of disabled soldiers and their friends and whoever else could get on them. Near Major-General Augur's headquarters, at the corner

of Pennsylvania Avenue and Sixteenth street, another stand was constructed by the military; while near the Treasury building, at the head of the avenue on Fifteenth street, and looking straight down this spacious thoroughfare to the Capitol, some enterprising individuals had built a stand on their own account, and for a consideration of one, two or three dollars, in greenbacks, be the same more or less, an eligible position was to be obtained, whence, at a glance, a mile of solid, moving, glistening bayonets came before the spectator. As he looked thence, down towards the Capitol, and saw, for eight hours each day, this close column of marching soldiers, their tattered banners waving joyously, their steel shining in the sun, heard the inspiring music to which they walked in cadence, saw the prancing war-steeds who seemed to know the day, and watched the bronzed and happy countenances of officers and men, or caught the firm lines in the face of a famous commander, an inexplicable thrill crept over the beholder; delight, amazement, chagrin and triumph in turn possessed him. Could it be possible that the great war was over and so many soldiers left? Could it be possible that so many soldiers had fought, and the war had

not ceased before? Could it be possible that this was only a portion of that grand army which for four long years had waged so many bloody conflicts with another army not much smaller in size and equal in determination and valor? Now it was possible to begin to appreciate the magnitude of the recent contest, and to rejoice that peace was at hand.

But this is diverging. To return to the official history of this event.* General Grant's order was succeeded by two other orders, respectively issued by the officers who had been temporarily assigned to the command of the troops on each day of the review, viz: General Meade on the first day and General Sherman on the second: * * * * [These orders are quoted in the Appendix to this volume.]

The camp of the cavalry corps was about halfway between Alexandria and Washington, while the camps of all the other armies stretched along the hills, up and down the Potomac. With only two bridges across the river it would be impossible on the day of the review to pass troops over fast enough to keep a large body moving in close column. It became necessary, therefore, that some should cross before, and another camp was selected

* See Appendix II.

for the cavalry corps in the vicinity of Bladensburg, Maryland, whither they were ordered to move on Sunday morning.

General Sheridan had not yet rejoined the command since leaving it at Petersburg, but, being at Willard's Hotel, the cavalry corps continued to move under his directions. His subordinate generals, however, found it convenient in making this change of location to pass directly by the quarters of their favorite commander, who, it was now generally known, was about to depart for new and distant scenes of service. Sunday morning [21st May,] unfortunately, was stormy, and the column moved in the mud and dirt usually accompanying such weather. Early and unheralded, however, the clatter of squadrons, as they splashed slowly across Pennsylvania Avenue, awakened the citizens, and in a short time Sheridan and staff appeared on the balcony to receive the informal and impromptu compliment of a marching review.

The soldiers were without the trappings of a holiday parade and were encumbered with the usual unmentionable paraphernalia belonging to a moving cavalry column. The spirits of the men were light and gay, but the weather was dull and heavy, and these famous troopers were reviewed by that portion

of the population enthusiastic enough to see the "pomp and panoply" of war as it looked in the drenching rain. The column occupied a good part of the morning in passing through the city, and wagons followed during the whole day.

The affair created no little stir among the good people of Washington, and the more demonstrative evinced a practical patriotism by setting out in front of their houses all the bread and biscuits that happened to have been cooked, while others heated their ovens and according to their capacity and ability dispensed the warm food from their thresholds to troopers who had already had a comfortable soldiers' breakfast before breaking camp, but who, true to martial instinct, never lost an opportunity to eat or drink. It was a happy sight, however, and not without its good effect on the mind and heart of every soldier, to see the little ones run to the edge of the sidewalk with a plate of hot biscuit in one hand and a glass of water in the other and a pretty speech, like "Mister, have a bite, sir," and without dismounting one thankfully accepted the hospitality and wondered if this is but the beginning of the cheerful reception which awaited the veterans throughout the country. [Sadly

forgotten in a short time in favor of rum-sellers, political dead-beats and bums. ANCHOR.] It was new and unexpected, and awakened a lively appreciation of the fact that the troopers were no longer in an enemy's country.

One venerable patriarch, more patriotic than thoughtful, and unmindful of the martial distinctions between a mounted squadron and an awkward four-mule team, enthusiastically received the troops under the joyous folds of his household's "star span-gled banner," and even after the column had passed, gaily continued waving his flag at every individual, mule and wagon-master in the baggage train.

The whole affair was simply an unavoidable march of the corps through Washington City, but it was telegraphed [with the usual accuracy of such reports] all over the land that Sheridan had held a grand preliminary review of his cavalry.

Tuesday, May 23d, dawned bright and pleasant, and none who saw them can ever forget the scenes of that day at the Capitol. The walks were just drying in the morning sun after a most delightful shower and the streets of the city presented every appearance of a holiday. There was, however, a notable

deficiency of that private enterprise which, had this grand review taken place in any other city, would have exhibited itself in numerous banners, arches and every possible civic adornment. The preparations for the reception of the troops, however, seemed to have been chiefly made by those expressly directed to do so by the officials to whom the charge was confided. This was appropriate, but the fact involves comparison to the streets of New York city on the occasion of some simple militia parade.

By eight o'clock the whole of Sheridan's cavalry were formed in column on Capitol Hill, the head resting near the famous "Old Capitol." Not far distant was the infantry of the Ninth Corps, which, by the order of march, was immediately to follow the cavalry. The *old* Army of the Potomac, proper, which comprised the chief part of the troops reviewed, was now marching across Long Bridge and so forming as to be ready to assume the appropriate place in the line. All the troops were to move in heavy column.

Soon Major-General Meade, the commander of this day's review, appeared with his staff and escort. General Sheridan, the day previous, had left for his new post in the Southwest; and General Crook, the next

ranking officer, had been allowed a leave of absence. Thus Major-General Merritt, whose acquaintance the reader has already made, assumed command of the cavalry corps for the review. General Custer and himself, heretofore only brevet major-generals, had just received promotions to full major-generalships: and many staff officers, through General Sheridan's thoughtfulness, received brevet appointments on that happy morning.

Before nine o'clock the bugles sounded, and promptly at that hour the commanding general appeared at the head of Pennsylvania Avenue.

As the head of the column passed the Capitol every niche and window, every conceivable standing place on the porticos and around the pillars, were crowded with "fair nymphs and well-dressed youths." The children of the public schools had been gathered there in holiday attire; and, rich with gay ribbons, fresh toilets, appropriate mottoes inscribed on tasteful banners, and with flowery garlands, they had assembled to do honor to the soldiery. What big heart, throbbing under bronze features, did not melt at this unexpected homage to sturdy veterans from childish purity and innocence. There seemed no limit to the fragrant luxury of the spring wreaths and bou-

quets, of all shapes and sizes, rained on the head of the column. The horsemen caught some as they flew over their heads, others fell on the ground and were trampled under the following squadron; so that soon the very street over which they rode was carpeted with flowers. Children's voices broke in unison upon the cheerful morning air, as they sang with glee the words of happiness and welcome.

The people elsewhere had scarcely believed that so immense a military display could be entirely prompt to the hour appointed and the streets were as yet comparatively quiet; few persons had assembled. Indeed it would seem that high officials agreed in this opinion, for the President, Secretary of War and General Grant did not reach the reviewing stand until after General Meade and several other officers had passed. General Sherman accidentally rode up the avenue about the same time, on his way to the reviewing stand. *His* triumphal ride occurred twenty-four hours later, when he rode up the same street at the head of those armies which had campaigned from the Mississippi to the Potomac.

The cavalry, as well as the other troops, marched in close column; and of the former not the least noticeable feature, after the

many days of heavy work they had so recently experienced, was the excellent appearance and condition of the horses, than which nothing, after a march, will more quickly indicate the efficiency of cavalry.

Without intending to give a detailed account of this review, the cavalry would never excuse my omission to mention that notorious incident which bereft one of its favorite generals of the dignified circumstance of martial array, and carried him past the reviewing officer, the President of the United States, his Cabinet, the military, civil and diplomatic functionaries of this and many other countries, not in the stately and sedate manner of a warrior-chief on his prancing charger, but shooting like the wind. On an Arabian race-horse, with disheveled locks, uncovered head, aye, lost helmet, dangling scabbard, no trusty blade at his shoulder, but hands, arms and bare head working to check the frantic steed, the pomp of generalship was completely enveloped in the unexpected character of John Gilpin! Was this a disappointment or was the sensation agreeable? Who among the spectators or performers at this state occasion will forget "how Custer's horse ran away with him?" But there was nobody hurt and the review continued,

The most correct schedule of this Grand Reception which has yet been published, is to be found in the *Army and Navy Journal* of 27th May, 1865, and these cursory sketches cannot better be closed than by acknowledging indebtedness to that number—92 (Vol. II., No. 40,) pages 628-29 and 632—[where this program is to be found] which constitutes one of the most comprehensive and interesting exhibits that has yet been published regarding a martial occasion, which for the present—thank God—practically ended the career of the American armies. [Remember these pages were thrown together in the summer of 1865. ANCHOR.]

A few days after the review, the cavalry removed its camp again from Bladensburg to the Alexandria and Fairfax Court House turnpike. As a corps it retained its nominal organization for some time afterwards; but its regiments were consolidated or mustered out of the service as fast as the orders and the necessary papers could be prepared. A brigade was placed *en route* to Missouri, where it was supposed it would soon follow Sheridan to Texas; another was sent to Kentucky; another to West Virginia. Several New York and Pennsylvania regiments were, after some little difficulty, consolidated

with others from the same States, and some were likewise ordered home to be mustered out.

On the Fourth of July, 1865, only one small brigade was left in camp to represent the corps. Meanwhile General Crook had been ordered North to await further orders; Generals Merritt and Custer had left for the Southwest, under orders, immediately after the review. In the course of the last month or six weeks of its life, therefore, necessitated by the various changes, the cavalry corps came under the command, successively, of Generals Crook, Brevet Major-Generals Devin and Davies, Brigadier-General Wells, Brevet Brigadier-Generals Thompson and Avery.

By the middle of July the last regiment was *en route* for home, the last staff officer had been ordered away, and the books, papers and headquarters establishment of the cavalry corps were engulfed in the depths of the quartermaster's department. No formal order of the Secretary of War had disbanded it, but Sheridan's cavalry was forever dispersed. *

* At the foot of this Chapter was the following appendix in the pamphlet of ANCHOR mentioned at Chapter VIII:

Regarding the conference (informal) at Appomattox Court House between a few of the promi-

nent generals of each army, of which mention is made in Chapter II. (original Chapter XII.), [i. e. Chapter X. of this volume] there are to be inserted the following facts :

The conference at Appomattox Court House, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the 9th, was merely to arrange the suspension of hostilities, until Generals Grant and Lee could adjust the terms of surrender. Among the Union generals present were Sheridan, Crook, Merritt, Ord, Griffin, Barlow, Gibbon, Ayres and Forsythe, and among the Rebel generals were Longstreet, Heth, Wilcox and Gordon ; "Rooney" Lee was near by, but did not join the circle. The tone of conversation at this interview was very friendly and both sides appeared glad to see each other. [Rebels and Southerners were generally always amiable and conciliatory when they had points to gain and Northerners to take in ; *Timoe Danaos*," etc., etc., a trite proverb, always apposite in every place, etc.] Many mutual inquiries were made after old friends and acquaintances. Heth said that he would rather fight the politicians who brought on these difficulties, than the soldiers arrayed against them. Gordon said that for himself he had fought conscientiously and had established somewhat of a reputation as a fighting man, but had he known that his friends would have been received so kindly and treated so magnanimously by their enemies, he would have long since laid down his arms. Wilcox, alluding to an obsolete idea entertained by some of the Southern people, facetiously inquired how high the grass had grown in the streets of New York ? [H. E. T.]

Copy from a New York daily of Sept. 10th or 11th inst., 1862 :

(From the *Richmond Dispatch*, Sept. 8th, 1862.)

"The following named Yankee citizen and negro prisoners were received at the C. S. prison, corner of Cary and Twentieth streets, Saturday, Sept. 6th, from Gordonsville, via Central Railroad, at nine o'clock. * * * (Here follow the names of fifty-eight officers, including H. E. Tremain, A. A. A. G.,

Stokles' Brigade.) * * * Besides these there were about fifty-seven members of the 1st, 2d and 3d Virginia regiments (Pierpoint's Sattelites) mostly with very outlandish names for persons claiming to be Virginian Volunteers. The following citizens were also in the group, having been found in suspicious company, viz. : (7 names.)

Negroes.—Tann Genna, from New York, free boy ; Geo. Jordan, do., Pennsylvania ; Tom Jackson, do., New York, do ; Esau, slave of Wm. Bowen, who has taken the oath of allegiance to Lincoln's government ; Chas. Montgomery, free, from Washington ; R. B. Wilson, free, Ohio ; and John Williams, free, from Alexandria, Va.

All the white men in the above lot *who bore commissions* are considered as belonging to Pope's army, and are therefore not prisoners of war." ~~They~~ Were HOSTAGES—to suffer DEATH—by lot—BY HANGING. ~~And~~

CHAPTER XIII.*

THE APPOMATTOX STORY FROM THE RECORD.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER TO THE "LAST HOURS OF SHERIDAN'S CAVALRY."

* * * * * "And history must be received on trust—is it not so?" LESSING.

A chapter written thirty-five years later.—Compilations from official reports of commands engaged at Appomattox.—Descriptions of the fighting there as told by combatants.—Contemporary history from both the opposing armies.—Lee's purpose by that battle.—The possible escape of his army designed when he rode away to meet Grant.—He then receives Grant's message declining to meet him except for the purpose of an absolute surrender.—The escape frustrated.—Lee acquiesces in the truce secured by his fighting generals, procures a further truce from Meade, and then seeks Grant for the surrender.—See also Chapter X.

It is not strange that the foregoing "notes" on the "Last Hours of Sheridan's Cavalry" are in many respects unsatisfactory to the Editor of *The Bugle*, himself a participant in the "Eleven Days Campaign" to which they relate. They were idly jotted down during the unoccupied moments of

* This Chapter is a continuation of Chapter X. as stated in note at page 264.

camp-life in the expiring days of 1865 as a convenience for subsequent reference; and then with resumption of the pursuits of peace consigned to the garret, with other army luggage. The subsequent inexorable demands of the Bread-and-Butter brigade would have kept them in that ambiguous warehouse, except that "Anchor," whose facile pen sought every source of possible information, rescued them, and with more or less "editing" started them upon a printed career.

After quite an extensive roaming,* and the lapse of a generation, they were re-animated by *The (Maine) Bugle*. The revivification is mingled, of course, with regrets for their omissions, if not with censure for their obvious faults.

To repair damages, however, by the dubious process of "Recollections of a Veteran" would be to add to the fancies which so often pass as "history," and to mutilate pages that have already had their extended days of condemnation and reward.

* They were published in pamphlet by "Anchor," from whom they had appeared in the "Army and Navy Journal" in 1871; and in 1884, they were republished at Edinburgh by the "Clarendon Historical Society,"—"The Bugle" republishing them again beginning with its issue of April, 1898.

But "Appomattox," cries the *Maine Bugle's* editor, "Appomattox" is not told—why not tell it out? Write me that chapter over again, is the request received. Such a task would not be the "notes," and so would be out of place, as neither contemporaneous history, nor reliable beyond the treacheries of memory. Besides, the limited observation of a single rider going here and there upon special business during a battle may perchance be even of less consequence than the ubiquitous newspaper man who is proud to sketch—perhaps at the home office,—in the rôle of "our special artist on the spot."

My response therefore to *The Bugle's* requisition for a "supplement" will be my quest to consult the "records."

The latter are very incomplete; and on the part of Confederates are necessarily unsatisfactory. The "records" embrace the capitulation which the world is accustomed to receive as a comprehensive description of "Appomattox." The "notes," and *The Bugle's* *Memories*, however, call up the collisions of battalions, the charges of squadrons, the wrecking of guns, the wavering to and fro of mighty lines of men, the din of battle, the horror and the picturesque of war. But the romance of "history" has set out "Appomattox."

tox" as a sort of Warrior's Paradise, where two people came together by appointment, and wrote polite letters to each other, and bid their respective followers to feast each other ere they ride home to make war no more.

This conception of "Appomattox" is erroneous. Consummate military skill, dexterous fencing for position, the most vigorous blows that either combatant was at the moment capable of delivering, characterized the conflict from the dawn of day until combat was suspended by accepted flags of truce, waved long before the terms or letters of surrender were agreed upon.

Instead of a lining up, a truce, a negotiation and a capitulation, there was an ugly battle in which many thousands were engaged on each side, and more thousands—thanks to the skill of Sheridan—were arriving to engage in. This battle raged for several hours; and on the part of the Confederate army, as then apparent to the participants, and as evidenced now by the recently published "Official Records," had two distinct purposes, namely, *to escape with as much of that army as was possible; and to surrender as little of it, and on as favorable terms as, by negotiations yet to be had, would prove to be possible.*

THE NIGHT BEFORE APPOMATTOX.

The wonderful battle and achievements of the evening of the eighth of April, furnish the key to the battle of Appomattox. That was the evening of the day that Lee had written to Grant the letter concluding with the phrase: "I cannot therefore meet you with a view to surrender the army of Northern Virginia." Of course, under the circumstances, there was no change in the orders to a single soldier of the Union forces, and therefore no cessation of "the effusion of blood."

After Grant, however, heard of the evening and night battle of April eighth, notwithstanding Lee's letter, he wrote at midnight to Secretary Stanton: "I feel very confident of receiving the surrender of Lee and what remains of his army to-morrow." Sheridan at 9:20 o'clock that evening, and before his battle had fairly stopped for the night, had written Grant: "*I do not think Lee means to surrender until compelled to do so.*" Such "compulsion" was then in progress.

The chief of artillery of Lee's army says that it was about one o'clock on the morning of the ninth when the results of this remarkable night battle, fought by Custer, and se-

cured by Smith's remarkable night advance, were made known to General Lee.

This is how the next day but one (April 10th) General William N. Pendleton, Lee's chief of artillery, freshly tells the story of it in his official report dated the "day after the surrender" (46 Vol. Part. I. Official Records of the Rebellion p. 1282): * * * "The evening of the eighth saw the head of our column near Appomattox Court House. I pushed on in person to communicate with General Walker, and found him with his command parked about two miles beyond the Court House on the road to Appomattox Station, Southside Railroad. While I was with him an *attack wholly unexpected* was made by the enemy on his defenceless camp. To avert immediate disaster from this attack demanded the exercise of all our energies. It was, however, at once effectually repelled (?) by the aid especially of the two gallant artillery companies of Captains Walker and Dickinson, under command of the former, which being at the time unequipped as artillerists, were armed with muskets as a guard. They met the enemy's sharpshooters (?—they were Custer's dismounted cavalymen) in a brushwood near, and enabled a number of General Walker's

pieces to play with effect while the remainder of the train was withdrawn. After a sharp skirmish this attack *seemed* remedied, and I started back, having received by courier a note requesting my presence with the commanding general. When I had reached a point a few hundred yards from the Court House, the enemy's cavalry, which had under cover of dusk gained the road, came rushing along firing upon all in the road, and I only escaped being shot or captured by leaping my horse over the fence and skirting along the left of that road toward our column then advancing, and until I reached a point where the enemy's charge was checked.

While these operations were in progress there was much *noise of engines* upon the Southside Railroad. From this circumstance, and from the enemy's using artillery in the attack above described, I became satisfied that the attacking body which had at first seemed to me small was a large and accumulating force, and the inference became inevitable that General Walker and his guns must be, if they had not already been captured. *These facts and inferences were reported to the commanding general on my reaching his (R. E. Lee's) headquarters about one A. M. of the 9th.*

Movements at daylight confirmed all that had been thus inferred. *The enemy was found in heavy force on our front, and dispositions were promptly made for a fierce encounter.* The artillery participated with alacrity, with cavalry and infantry, in a *spirited attack upon the enemy's advancing columns*, and promptly succeeded in arresting their advance.

Two guns were captured from the enemy and a number of prisoners taken ; but in spite of this the conviction had become established in the minds of a large majority of our best officers and men that the army in its extremely reduced state, could not be extricated from its perilous condition, surrounded by the immense force of the enemy, and without subsistence for men or animals, unless with frightful bloodshed, and to scarcely any possible purpose, as its remnant, if thus rescued, must be too much enfeebled for efficient service. In view of these convictions, known of in part by him, and of all the facts before his own mind, the commanding general, before the battle had raged extensively, made arrangements [?] for averting hostilities. * * * Of two hundred and fifty field pieces belonging to the army on the lines near Richmond

* Not then.

and Petersburg, only sixty-one remained and thirteen caissons."

GENERAL LEE'S PLAN FOR THE BATTLE OF
APRIL NINTH. HIS OWN ACCOUNT OF IT.

General Pendleton's report tersely indicates a fierce combat; but not altogether an unexpected one. Lee expected to march his army, then reduced to two organized corps under Longstreet and Gordon, "on the road to Appomattox Court House. Thence its march *was ordered* by Campbell Court through Pittsylvania toward Danville."

The official report of Gen. R. E. Lee, dated April 12th, 1865, at Appomattox, further says: "The roads were wretched and the progress slow. By great efforts the head of the column reached Appomattox Court House on the evening of the 8th, and the troops were halted for rest. The *march was ordered to be resumed at one A. M. on the 9th.* Fitz Lee with the cavalry supported by Gordon was *ordered to drive the army from his front, wheel to the left, and cover the passage of the trains; while Longstreet, who from Rice's Station had formed the rear guard, should close up and hold the position.* Two battalions of artillery and the ammunition wagons

were directed to accompany the army, the rest of the artillery and wagons to move towards Lynchburg.

In the early part of the night the enemy attacked Walker's artillery train near Appomattox Station, on the Lynchburg Railroad, and were repelled (?). Shortly afterward, their cavalry dashed toward the Court House until halted by our line. During the night there were indications of a large force massing on our left and front. Fitz Lee was directed to ascertain its strength and to suspend his advance until daylight if necessary. About 5 A. M. on the 9th, with Gordon on his left, he *moved forward and opened the way* (?). A heavy force of the enemy was discovered opposite Gordon's right, which, moving in the direction of Appomattox Court House, drove back the left of the cavalry and threatened to cut off Gordon from Longstreet, his cavalry at the same time threatened to envelop his left flank. Gordon withdrew across the Appomattox River, and the *cavalry advanced on the Lynchburg road and became separated from the army.*" [An intentional "separation," see the cavalry reports.]

"Learning the condition of affairs (i. e. of Gordon's repulse and Fitz Lee's Escape) on the lines (i. e. in front of Humphreys'

2nd Corps), where I had gone under the expectation of meeting General Grant (of which Grant, however, was yet unaware) to learn definitely the terms he proposed in a communication received from him on the 8th, in the event of the surrender of the army, I requested a suspension of hostilities until these terms could be arranged. In the interview which occurred with General Grant in compliance with my requests, terms having been agreed upon, I surrendered *that portion of the field*, with its arms, artillery and wagon the Army of Northern Virginia *which was on* trains, the officers and men to be paroled, retaining their side-arms and private effects. I deemed this course the best under all the circumstances by which we were surrounded."

"On the morning of the 9th, according to the reports of the ordnance officers, there were seven thousand eight hundred ninety-two organized infantry with arms, with an average of seventy-five rounds of ammunition per man. The artillery, though reduced to sixty-three pieces, with ninety-three rounds of ammunition was sufficient. These comprised all the supplies of ordnance that could be relied on in the State of Virginia.

I have no accurate report of the cavalry, but believe it did not exceed two thousand one

hundred effective men. (See report of the numbers paroled.) The enemy was more than five times our numbers." * * * "If we could have forced our way one day longer it would have been at a great sacrifice of life, and at its end I did not see how a surrender could have been avoided. We had no subsistence for man or horse, and it could not be gathered in the country. The supplies ordered to Pamplin's Station from Lynchburg could not reach us, and the men, deprived of food and sleep for many days, were worn out and exhausted. With great respect, your obedient servant.
R. E. Lee, General."

Thus before he left the scene of the final battle and surrender did General Lee make the official record of all matter then deemed by him of sufficient consequence to report to the fugitive President of the Confederacy. *No mention is made of the request* upon General Grant for rations, nor of the consequent fact that before the sun had set upon the surrendered, the supply train of the Union forces was distributing rations in the enemy's camp. Perhaps it was taken for granted that prisoners were to be subsisted. But there were no guards, and the army was never treated as prisoners. All men were on parole; and, as

nothing was more natural than that General Grant and his soldiers should ration their foe subdued, nothing was perhaps more natural than that this should be expected; and so did not become apparently a military circumstance worth official mention!

The day before this report was dated, General Grant, as he was leaving for Washington, wrote back from Burke's Station (April 11th) ordering the destruction of such captured "caissons and small arms as cannot be moved" owing to "the excessive bad state of the roads;" but in the same order, with his natural benevolence, he directed: "Leave wagons for the country people to pick up."

It is noteworthy that General Lee's figures of the strength of his army on the 9th are out of harmony with the facts reported "with the rolls of officers and men of Lee's army," as forwarded by Grant to the Secretary of War. Among these papers, the records of General George H. Sharpe, of Gen. Grant's staff, who superintended the paroling, state that "summaries have been made by actual count of each command, and will be found to accompany the papers, the whole number of officers and men being a little over 26,000." (Serial No. 97 Off. Rec. Reb., page 852.

This of course did not include those who had then escaped.)*

FURTHER CONFEDERATE NARRATIONS.

It is a curious coincidence that while Gen. Lee was writing his report, Mrs. Jefferson Davis was advised by a friendly source from Greensborough, N. C., April 12th, that "the loss of an army is not the loss of the cause. There is a great deal of fight in us yet;" and that on the same day Jefferson Davis's private Secretary, Mr. Burton N. Harrison, writes to Mrs. Davis an interesting narrative of what Mr. Davis then understood to be the situation. He says:

"The apparent slackening of Grant's pressure upon General Lee, of which I telegraphed you, is explained by the fact that our artillery had all (?) been captured but two pieces, which escaped by taking the wrong road. It was lost in whole battalions, guns, officers and men, Haskell's and Huger's going first. *The infantry was dispersed all over the country*; the men had thrown away their arms, and were going home to take care of themselves. *The cavalry seems to have taken to their heels*. The heavy firing had ceased, therefore, and as nothing like sounds of bat-

*See this subject discussed in Appendix I, page 465.

tle could be heard in the country round about, we *inferred* that the situation had been improved. Imagine then our astonishment and dismay when the President was summoned from dinner *on Monday* (10th) to be informed of the surrender of General Lee, of himself and all his infantry on the 9th, at or near Appomattox Court House. The messenger was an old citizen of the country, who stated that he saw General Rosser and was told that General Lee was in Grant's *tent* (as he was not) at that time. The same information as to the result reached us from several other sources before night. A Cabinet Council was held immediately, and a march on this place decided on. We started on a special train about midnight, bringing all the cabinet except General Breckenridge, who had not yet reached Danville, and who has not joined us up to this time. Our train was very slow, and finally reached Greensborough late in the afternoon of the 11th, just escaping a raiding party (which) struck the railroad an hour after we had passed the point.
* * * We are a fixture for the present, and are comfortably fixed."

General Lomax of the Confederate Army, who had escaped Appomattox, reported also that "few cavalry surrendered." It was ob-

vously a Confederate intention to have as little cavalry as possible included in the apparently approaching surrender. It was hoped that the Confederate cavalry would join General Johnston's army then in North Carolina.

General Fitzhugh Lee, commanding the Confederate Cavalry, calls favorable attention to his three division commanders, Generals W. H. F. Lee, Rosser and Munford, and adds that "the former was detached from the main command, being the senior division commander, whenever it became necessary for a force to operate separately." * * * "He surrendered with the army at Appomattox Court House. *The other two succeeded in getting out, and immediately made arrangements to continue the struggle* until the capitulation of General Johnston's army brought the convincing proof that a further resistance was useless."

This report was dated Richmond, April 22d, 1865, and gives the most comprehensive though meager account furnished by the Confederate military sources of the Appomattox battle. It says:

THE ACCOUNT OF GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE.

"During the evening of the 8th I received

orders to move the cavalry corps to the front, and to report in person to the commanding general. Upon arriving at his headquarters I found General Longstreet there, and we were soon after joined by General Gordon. The condition of our *situation* was *explained* by the commanding general to us as the commanders of his three corps, and the correspondence between General Grant and himself, as far as it had been progressed, was laid before us. It was *decided that I should attack the enemy's cavalry at daylight*, then reported as obstructing our further march; Gordon was to support me, and *in case nothing but cavalry were discovered we were to clear it from our route and open a way for our remaining troops*; but *in case they were supported by heavy bodies of infantry the commanding general should be at once notified, in order that a flag of truce should be sent to accede to the only alternative left us*. The enemy were enabled to take *position across our line of march* by moving up from Appomattox Station, *which they reached earlier than our main advance*, in consequence of our march being retarded by our wagon trains."

"At daybreak on the 9th Gordon's command, numbering about 1,600 muskets, was

formed in line of battle half a mile west of Appomattox Court House, on the Lynchburg road. The cavalry corps was formed on his right, W. H. F. Lee's division being nearest the infantry, Rosser's in the center, and Munford's on the extreme right, making a mounted force of about 2,400 men. *Our attack was made about sunrise, and the enemy's cavalry quickly driven out of the way, with a loss of two guns and a number of prisoners. The arrival at this time of two corps of their infantry necessitated the retiring of our lines, during which, and knowing what would be the result, I withdrew the cavalry, W. H. F. Lee retiring toward our rear, and Rosser and Munford out toward Lynchburg, having cleared that road of the enemy."* *

"Upon hearing that the Army of Northern Virginia had surrendered, *the men were generally dispersed and rode off to their homes, subject to reassembling* for a con-

* If this remark is intended to imply that the Lynchburg Pike was so free that any Confederate Cavalry marched on it continuously out of Appomattox, the General is mistaken. His escaping columns, probably Rosser and Munford, as mentioned, passed around the left of the Union lines, regaining the Pike at the Union rear where small bodies of the Union cavalry had first been sent as a guard, and during the battle were increased to a brigade or more, with orders to attack, and if possible to detain the enemy in their presence. It was

tinuation of the struggles. I rode out in person with a portion of W. H. F. Lee's division, the nearest to me at that time, and previous to the negotiations between the commanders of the two armies. It will be recalled that my action was in accordance with the views I had expressed in the council the night before—that *if a surrender was compelled the next day, I would try to extricate the cavalry, providing it could be done without comprising the action of the commanding general*, but that I would not avail myself of a cessation

this difficult task of extension over the left and rear which was being pursued by Generals Davies and Mackenzie under Crook, that weakened the lines in front of Gordon. The Lynchburg Pike itself was used by Crook at all times after sunrise, and was finally reoccupied in force by the 24th Corps infantry as it was encountered by Gordon. No Confederate troops had meanwhile passed along it. The writer was upon and crossing and recrossing the "Pike" continuously during the battle communicating with Crook's brigades, and saw the Confederate cavalry pass *around* instead of *upon* that highway.

Crook's communications with his brigades, which were on both sides of the "Pike," were at no time sundered; so that it is a misapprehension to conclude that this "road" was "cleared." I confess that when I "occupied" it at one point with only an orderly, and saw Gordon's columns approach, I myself momentarily thought it was "cleared" of Union troopers; but when soon thereafter I was ordered to follow it with an order to the general at the southern or rather the western front, I found it thoroughly occupied by us at a point quite south of where the enemy encountered the 24th Corps infantry.

of hostilities pending the existence of a flag of truce. I had an understanding with General Gordon that he should communicate to you the information of the presence of the enemy's infantry upon the road in our front."

"Apart from the fond, though forlorn, hope that future operations were still in store for the cavalry, I was *desirous that they should not be included in the capitulations*, because the ownership of their horses was vested in themselves, and I deemed it doubtful that terms would be offered allowing such ownership to continue. A few days convinced me of the impracticability of longer entertaining such hopes, and I rode into the Federal lines and accepted myself the terms offered the officers of the Army of North Virginia. My cavalry are being paroled at the nearest places for such purposes in their counties.

The burning by the enemy of all my retained reports, records, and data of every kind near Paineville, in Amelia County, which were in one of the wagons destroyed, and my inability to get reports from my officers, is my apology for the rendition of a report incomplete in many, though I think minor, details. * * *

"I desire to call attention to the marked

and excellent behavior of Generals W. H. F. Lee, Rosser, and Munford, commanding divisions. The former was detached from the main command, being the senior division commander, whenever it seems necessary for a force to operate separately, and I hope has made a report direct to the commanding general. He surrendered with the army at Appomattox Court House. The other *two succeeded in getting out, and immediately made arrangements to continue the struggle*, until the capitulation of General Johnston's army brought the convincing proof that a further resistance was useless." * * *

The closing paragraph of General Fitzhugh Lee's report is too pathetic to be omitted here. He says:

"I deeply regret being obliged to mention the dangerous wounding of my aide-de-camp, Lieut. Charles Minnegerode, Jr. One of the last minneballs that whistled on its cruel errand over the field of Appomattox passed entirely through the upper part of his body. He fell at my side, where for three long years he had discharged his duties with an affectionate fidelity never exceeded, a courage never surpassed. Wonderfully passing unharmed through the many battles fought by the two principal armies in this State (for an impetu-

ous spirit often carried him where the fire was hottest,) he was left at last, writhing in his great pain, to the mercy of the victors upon the field of our last struggle. The rapidly advancing lines of the enemy prevented his removal, and as we turned away the wet eyes and sorrowing hearts silently told that one was no longer in our midst. Lieutenant Minnegerode combined the qualities of an aide-de-camp to a general officer in a remarkable degree. His personal services to me will forever be prized and remembered, whilst his intelligence, amiability, and brightness of disposition rendered him an object of endearment to all."

It will be seen that two out of three of the Cavalry Division Generals, Rosser and Munford, "succeeded in getting out, and *immediately made arrangements to continue the struggle*, until the capitulation of General Johnston's army brought the convincing proof that a further resistance was useless."

What General Munford did, or intended to do, is set forth by himself in his orders to his soldiers on April 21st, 1865. He says:

"HDQRS. MUNFORD'S CAVALRY BRIGADE.

Soldiers: I have just received a communication from the President of the Confederate States, ordering us again to the field in de-

fense of our liberties. General Johnston, with an army constantly increasing, well appointed, and disciplined, still upholds our glorious banner. We are *ordered to report* to him. *Our cause is not dead*. Let the same stern determination to be free, which has supported you for four years of gallant struggle, still animate you, and it can never die. One disaster, however serious, cannot crush out the spirit of Virginians and make them tamely submit to their enemies, who have given us, during all these terrible years of war, so many evidences of their devilish malignity in our devastated fields, our burned homesteads, our violated daughters, and our murdered thousands. Virginians will understand that their present pretended policy of conciliation is but the cunning desire of the Yankee to lull us to sleep while they rivet the chains they have been making such gigantic efforts to forge, and which they will as surely make us wear forever if we tamely submit. We have sworn a thousand times by our eternal wrongs, by our sacred God-given rights, by the memory of our noble fathers and our glorious past, by our gallant dead who lie on every plain of our war-scarred State, by our glorious victories on many a well-fought field, that we would be free. Shall

we not keep our oaths? Can we kneel down by the graves of our dead, kneel in the very blood from sons yet fresh, and kiss the rod which smote them down. Never! Better die a thousand deaths. We have still power to resist. *There are more men at home to-day belonging to the Army of Northern Virginia than were surrendered at Appomattox.* Let them rally to the call of our President, and Virginia, our beloved old Commonwealth, shall stand triumphant and defiant, with her foot upon her tyrants prostrate, and her proud old banner, never yet sullied, with its 'Sic semper tyrannis' streaming over her.

Soldiers of the old brigade, to you I confidently appeal. *You have never been surrendered! Cutting your way out of the enemy's lines before the surrender was determined, you, together with a majority of the cavalry, are free to follow your country's flag.* The eyes of your Virginia, now bleeding at every pore, turn with special interest to you. Will you desert her at her sorest need? You will never descend to such infamy. Let us renew our vows, and swear again by our broken altars to be free or die. Let us teach our children eternal hostility to our foes. What though we perish in the fight, as surely as the God of justice reigns, the truth, the

right will triumph, and though we may not, our children will win the glorious fight, for it is not within the nature of her Southern sons to wear the chains of Yankee rule.

We have still a country, a flag, an army, a Government. *Then to horse!* A circular will be sent to each of your officers designating the time and places of assembly. Hold yourselves in instant readiness, and *bring all true men with you from this command* who will go, and let us who struck the last blow as an organized part of the army of Northern Virginia strike the first with that victorious army which, by the blessings of our gracious God, will yet come to redeem her hallowed soil.

THOMAS T. MUNFORD,
Brig.-Gen. Comndg. Div."

Four days before this effervescent document was issued, its author * had proceeded to settle some of his official tribulations by the following letter of inquiry; the reply to which epistle doubtless immediately evoked his farewell pronunciamento, dated on the same day.

* In recent years a popular Southern lecturer.

"HEADQUARTERS LEE'S CAVALRY DIVISION,

April 17, 1865,

*Brigadier-General Mackenzie, Commdg.
Cav. Brigade, U. S. Army, Lynchburg.*

General: I have the honor to enclose a copy of a paper * sent me last night by Lieutenant Little, commanding detachment; it places me in an embarrassing position, and I must decline to accept your polite invitation until I can ascertain my status. It is only necessary for me to say I will obey orders when I am certain they are by proper authority. I beg leave to state that my command succeeded in driving the Federal cavalry from the Appomattox and Lynchburg railroad in our front on Sunday; that I apprehended the disaster which befell our army, and moved back rapidly into the main body of my command, leaving only a heavy skirmish line to cover my retreat. I was in the rear when your flag of truce was noticed by the officer in charge of my covering party. As soon as I was apprised that there was a truce I went to the front and asked to communicate with General R. E. Lee. General Devin commanding U. S. forces, 'could not allow me

* It was a "request" from Generals Grant and Mackenzie to "report" to the latter.

to communicate with him,' and, after some little parley, I withdrew. I was at no time within your lines, *nor did I expect to surrender my command or myself.* If I understand from you that I was included in the surrender I must respectfully ask that you will *first show I was surrendered* before I can submit. I have not been able to see or communicate with any officer who knows the terms of General's Lee's capitulation. Please state in your reply who was included. Many, I know, escaped into my command. Many are away on details and from other causes. Let it be understood at once and our people will know how to act and what to expect. The love of our cause, backed by the proud and brave hearts of my command, will be a sufficient apology for my declining to comply with your polite invitation until I am satisfied that General Lee included *my command, who had cut their way through your lines and are far from being in a condition to be captured.* I shall follow our old flag and defend it until we are free. My men do not believe they could have been surrendered. If you will furnish me with satisfactory evidence I will submit to the powers that be, otherwise I shall not ask or expect any favors. If this paper could be sent to General Lee it would obviate many

difficulties. My desire is to act in good faith, but I will take the risk until it is made clear.

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS T. MUNFORD,
Brig.-Gen. Comndg. Div.

(This will be handed by Lieutenant Tesh, bearing flag of truce.)

The reply was very conservative, and bears the same date as the "pronunciamento." Here it is:

"HEADQUARTERS, 24TH ARMY CORPS. In the Field, BURKVILLE, VA., April 21, 1865.

Brig.-Gen. Thomas T. Munford, Commanding Division.

General: Your communication of the 17th inst. to Brigadier-General Mackenzie has been referred to me as the senior officer of the commission appointed by Lieutenant-General Grant to arrange the terms of surrender of General Lee's Army. In reply I have the honor to state that by the agreement entered into by the officers appointed on each side it is provided that 'The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces operating with that army on the 8th instant,' 'except such bodies of cavalry as actually made their escape pre-

vious to the surrender.' The question, therefore, as to the *actual escape of your command is left to your decision*. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN GIBBON,

Major-General of Volunteers."

Some of Lee's troops at Appomattox "while forming line of battle" were ordered back and did not become engaged on the 9th. (Lane's Report, War Rec. Vol. 46, Part I. p. 1286.) Some of the Confederate troops marched all night on the night of the 8th and others "remained in line of battle all night in consequence of a dash made by enemy's cavalry" upon Appomattox Court-House;—referring to the Custer onset of that night.

Before leaving this feature of the picture, and as showing the military situation of affairs immediately south of and in direct touch with Lee's army, as observed by one of its most experienced engineer officers, the following extracts are given from the published ("War Records") Diary of Captain (?) Jed. Hotchkiss, Topographical Engineer Second Corps, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, relating to the days covered by this narration. [Prominent Confederate officers

deny that "Captain" Hotchkiss was a commissioned officer.]

"Tuesday, April 4th. Spent to-day in getting transportation, etc., to move away. Town full of rumors. Richmond has certainly been given up, and Lee has gone toward Danville. (Robinson) reducing Valley map; Wilson copying vicinity of Lynchburg. I corrected Valley map. Some. Fine day.

Wednesday, April 5th. (Wilson) as yesterday; I corrected Valley map; (Robinson) reducing Roanoke County. The enemy is again advancing up the Valley. Encamped last night at Fisher's Hill and came to-day to Maurer town, our cavalry skirmishing with them. I went home in the P. M. and spent the night. Started Robinson with maps to Lynchburg. A fine day, but cloudy.

Thursday, April 6. I came back to Staunton at an early hour. The enemy is still advancing up the valley; also said to be at Christiansburg. Our trains from Richmond going toward Lynchburg; the enemy at Goochland Court House. It rained quite hard last night and this A. M. We spent the day in Staunton. Late in the P. M. it was reported that the enemy had gone back down the valley. Fine day.

Friday, April 7. Lomax's division started toward Lexington yesterday in the P. M. and went some ten miles, and to-day it went through Lexington and to the mouth of Buffalo Creek. I accompanied it. Supped at Colonel Preston's. We marched until 10 P. M. General Lomax went ten miles farther to the "Rope Ferry." Fine day. *Country full of rumors and much excited.* Rode forty-six miles.

Saturday, April 8. We continued the march to-day by the Amhurst road to Lynchburg. Got there after dark. *General Lomax reached there about 2 P. M.* The citizens had determined to surrender the place, and were much excited at the near approach of the enemy from the west, a few hundred; but *General Lomax soon restored confidence*, and got convalescents, etc., into the trenches; but he soon found out that only a small force was coming from

the west and that it had retired, so *he put his cavalry toward Farmville*, as reports came of disasters to General Lee's army, which was at Appomattox Station. We traveled thirty-six miles. Fine day. Peaches, apples, etc., in full bloom.

Sunday, April 9. We rode around the city to see its defences. Went also to the cavalry camp three miles down the river. News came rapidly that *our army lost most of its train and artillery* yesterday, and that there was a *fight this morning* and the army had surrendered. It was confirmed later in the day, and sadness and gloom pervaded the entire community. *Generals Rosser* and *Munford* came in late in the day, and the town was full of fugitives. Cool, part of the day. I went out to General Jackson's camp for the night.

Monday, April 10. We marched at 6 A. M. toward Danville, via Campbell Court House. The command went to Panill's Bridge. General Lomax went by the Ward road. The train and artillery started yesterday. I crossed to it from Campbell Court House, and went across Ward's Bridge and four miles beyond to McDaniel's. Saw General Rosser on the road, going to Danville to see General *R. E. Lee, who was said to have gone down the day before*. It rained a good deal of the day. Rode thirty miles. The country is full of fugitives from the surrender.

Tuesday, April 11. We rode to seven miles beyond Pittsylvania Court House, toward Danville. The division came by Chalk Level to a few miles beyond the Court House. It misted in the morning, cool in the A. M., warmer in P. M. Vegetation quite forward. Majors Howard and Rowland and myself spent the night at Doctor Hutchins'.

Wednesday, April 12. We went to the division camp at — Meeting House. Heard positively that General R. E. Lee has surrendered himself. A good portion of the division went off last night, and Colonel Nelson to-day disbanded his artillery, leaving everything at Pittsylvania Court House. I soon ascertained that the Virginia troops had all determined to go home, and that the surrender of General Lee has caused nearly every one to give up all hopes for the confederacy. Though *many had escaped without being paroled*, only now and then

one had a gun. A complete demoralization had taken place. General Rosser saw the Secretary of War at Danville, and to-day passed through Pittsylvania Court House toward Lynchburg, where he disbanded his division on Monday last. General Lomax went to Danville to see the Secretary of War. The division melted away during the day, and but few were left to follow General W. L. Jackson when he turned back toward the Valley. Major Howard and myself went to the Court House, dined at Judge Gilmer's, and then, in company with Colonel Nelson and others, went to Berger's Store and two miles beyond, toward Toler's Ferry. Nearly every house was full of soldiers going home, and we had much trouble in finding quarters. Fine day, but it rained most of the evening at night. *Skulkers and deserters are coming out of their holes.* [War Rec. 46 Vol. Part I, p. 521.]

A SITUATION TWELVE DAYS AFTER THE SURRENDER.

The same day that General Munford issued his proclamation, the Union commander at Lynchburg, General J. Irvin Gregg,—Crook's Brigade commander who had been liberated on the 9th, having been taken prisoner in the Farmville battle on the 7th of April, and who would have been justified in attacking "Munford's men" at Lynchburg, as is now clear,—was pressing "peace and good order" chiefly by "moral influence;" as it appears by his own brief but interesting description in his following report of April 21st from Lynchburg:

“LYNCHBURG, April 21, 1865.

Brig.-Gen. N. M. Curtis, Chief of Staff:
Send me a regiment of infantry—a strong one. I do not apprehend any danger, but all Munford’s men are in the neighborhood unparoled and in possession of their arms. My total strength is 751 men; the detachments will reduce the command at this place to less than 500 men. Many paroled prisoners arrive here without subsistence, who are still a long distance from their homes. Shall I issue rations to them and furnish transportation? The vicinity is quiet; the inhabitants well disposed. A most excellent state of feeling exists in this city among prominent men. The mayor and most of the members of the city council have taken the oath. Generals Munford and Sorrel were paroled yesterday. No absolute destitution prevails. Farmers are planting corn. Negroes quiet and disposed to be industrious. Forward copies of orders from War Department for 1865.

J. IRVIN GREGG,
Brev. Brig.-Gen. of Vols., Commandg.”

OFFICIAL NARRATIONS OF UNION GENERALS.

Leaving these pictures and narratives as given chiefly from Confederate official

sources, it is time now to turn again to the doings of the Union forces participating immediately in the Appomattox battle, as narrated officially by the leading Union generals.

Upon the Union side *General Meade*, on April 10, reports to General Grant that *Humphreys* (2d Corps) "having marched nearly all night came up with the enemy *about noon* at a point about three miles from Appomattox Court House. Preparations were at once made to attack when I received a letter from General Lee to the Lieutenant-General (Grant) asking a suspension of hostilities. Understanding a truce had been agreed to by Major-General Ord, on the other side of the Court House (where the battle had raged) I acceded to one until 2 P. M., by which time I received the orders of the Lieutenant-General commanding, to cease hostilities until further notice, and later in the afternoon I was advised by the Lieutenant-General commanding the army that the Army of Northern Virginia had surrendered."

During the evening of the 8th (9 P. M.) the 2d and 6th Corps were given orders to move at 5 A. M. on the ninth, "and the Second Corps will attack the enemy (now in its front), the Sixth Corps supporting." (46 Vol. Pt. 3, p. 645, 688, Off. War Records.)

The situation on the Union side at 9:20 and at 9:40 P. M. April 8th was reported to Grant by Sheridan in two characteristic dispatches which are given in full, and are again referred to a few pages beyond this:

“CAVALRY HEADQUARTERS, April 8, 1865.
9:20 P. M.

Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States.

General: I marched early this morning from the Buffalo Creek and Prospect Station on Appomattox Station, where my scouts had reported trains of cars with supplies for Lee's army. A short time before dark General Custer, who had the advance, made a dash at the station, capturing four trains of supplies with locomotives. One of the trains was burned, and the others were run back towards Farmville for security. Custer then pushed on toward Appomattox Court House, driving the enemy who kept up a heavy fire of artillery—charging them repeatedly and capturing, as far as reported, twenty-five pieces of artillery and a number of prisoners and wagons. The First Cavalry Division supported him on the right. A reconnoissance sent across the Appomattox reports the enemy moving on the Cumberland Road to Appomat-

tox Station, where they expect to get supplies. Custer is still pushing on. *If General Gibbon and the Fifth Corps can get up to-night, we will perhaps finish the job in the morning. I do not think Lee means to surrender until compelled to do so.*

P. H. SHERIDAN,
Major-General."

" HEADQUARTERS CAVALRY, April 8, 1865.
9.40 P. M.

Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies U. S.

General: Since writing the accompanying dispatch, General Custer reports that his command has captured in all thirty-five pieces of artillery, one thousand prisoners—including one general officer—and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred wagons.

P. H. SHERIDAN,
Major-General."

At 9 A. M. on April 9th General Humphreys wrote to General Meade this letter:

" HEADQUARTERS SECOND ARMY CORPS,
April 9, 1865. 9 A. M.

Major-General Meade, Commanding Army of the Potomac:

Not finding the enemy where he was reported last evening I moved forward about

five miles, when, finding my men falling out rapidly, I halted the head of the column about 12 M. The rations were brought up and issued. The head of my column is now about one mile and a half from the halting place and near to the rear of the enemy, according to the report of a negro who came from Lynchburg yesterday morning. Our troops were then three miles from Lynchburg. He passed through Appomattox Court House about sunset. The fighting there was then going on. It was resumed this morning, and is still continuing. About daylight he passed the last of the enemy and then lay in the woods some time, coming in to us when he thought it was safe. He was told as he passed through Lee's army that the troops would move again about midnight. We are about *ten miles* from Appomattox Court-House.

A. A. HUMPHREYS,

Major-General Commanding."

General Meade received this dispatch at 10 A. M., while Sheridan was fighting, and sent it to General Grant. General Meade also that morning forwarded to General Grant a letter from General Lee requesting an interview, which letter Meade writes General Grant that he had "opened thinking time and

some good might result from so doing ;” and adding, “ whilst I fully agree with you in the only terms as stated in your letter to be granted, I think it would be well for you to see General Lee, as he may accept them after an interview.” (46 War Rec. p. 668.)

There is often a point where to refuse to negotiate is to negotiate successfully, and two men seldom agree as to when and where that point is. Its successful location is usually dependent upon the judgment of a single individual. General Grant had evidently located that point for himself when early Sunday morning he wrote Lee declining to meet him yet, although the night before Grant had expressed to the Secretary of War his opinion that Lee would be obliged to surrender tomorrow. General Grant did not belong to that element, at large in both parties in the North and not without adherents in the army, “ that the war could be ended only through negotiation.”

The terms of peace, to which General Meade in this letter to Grant approvingly referred, are those set forth by General Grant in a letter to General Lee, dated *April 9*, and dispatched from Grant's Headquarters early that morning, and received by Lee on the “ picket line,” where he had mistakenly calcu-

lated to meet and to *negotiate* with General Grant.

Instead of Grant meeting him General Lee then received this note :

“ HEADQUARTERS, ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES, April 9, 1865.

General R. E. Lee, Commanding C. S. Army.

General:—Your *note of yesterday* is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed for 10 A. M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The *terms* upon which peace can be had are *well understood*.* By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT,

Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Army.”

The “ *note of yesterday* ” above referred to

* *Grant's notes to Lee had defined them.*

was that in which General Lee had written that he did "*not think the emergency had arisen to call for a surrender.*" Hence this unequivocal reply of General Grant.

This letter of General Grant's, written early Sunday morning, was delivered to General Lee about 9 A. M. in front of the Second (Humphreys') Corps. General Lee immediately answered, sending with the answer an oral message of regret at not having met General Grant as he had expected. General Grant by that time was well on his way from the route of march of the 2d and 6th Corps to that of Generals Ord (24th Corps) and Sheridan (Cavalry Corps).

General Lee's regrets must have been sincere, for he had doubtless depended on agreeing with General Grant upon some terms of capitulation, and so at a sufficiently early hour to stop a general engagement. Still he had given no orders to his own army to exhibit signs of truce, or to halt, or to remain passive. He just went to see Grant because he thought there was *nothing else left* for him to do; and naturally he rode first to his own rear thinking Grant was with the forces immediately pursuing it, instead of with forces being used to intercept him at his own front.

General Humphreys in his "Campaign in

Virginia" (pp. 393, 395) says that before daybreak that Sunday morning, General Lee sent Colonel Venable of his staff to General Gordon, commanding Lee's advance, to learn what were the chances of a successful attack. General Gordon replied: "My old corps is reduced to a frazzle, and unless I am supported by Longstreet heavily, I do not think we can do anything more." Colonel Venable returned with this answer of Gordon's, to which General Lee in reply said: "Then there is *nothing left me* but to go and see General Grant."

It was under these circumstances that General Lee answered General Grant, with a note containing the first request for an interview upon the basis previously indicated by General Grant. This, the first letter written to General Grant by General Lee on the surrender morning, was sent between 9 and 10 A. M. on the ninth, and while Sheridan's battle was raging, and was as follows:

"April 9, 1865.

General U. S. Grant, Commanding U. S. Armies.

General: I received *your note of this morning* on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal

of yesterday with reference to the surrender of the Army. I now request an interview in accordance with the *offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose*. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, R. E. Lee, General."

Of course General Humphreys forwarded this note to General Meade; and the latter in due course sent it, by Lieutenant Charles E. Pease of his staff, to General Grant, who was overtaken by the Lieutenant "riding along the wagon road that runs from Farmville to Appomattox and at a point about eight or ten miles east of the latter place." This was, as General Grant then noted, 11.50 A. M.

Meanwhile much was occurring. Among other things oral communications, through staff officers, had taken place between Generals Lee and Meade, and Lee and Humphreys; and the latter was keeping Meade closely informed, and not relenting in obeying his instructions to press forward vigorously and attack.

Colonel H. H. Humphreys, of the regular army, and then on the Second Corps staff, says (1898) that while his father's (Second Corps) troops were so engaged, "General Humphreys received two earnest requests from General Lee, through his staff officer,

not to press forward upon him, to halt, that negotiations were in progress looking to a surrender of his army. These requests were made when the Second Corps was close upon General Longstreet, whose troops were the rear guard of the Confederate Army. These requests could not be complied with, and General Lee was so informed, and the 2nd corps continued to press forward. When these requests of General Lee were received, he was very urgent, so urgent that General Humphreys had to send General Lee word twice he must remove from the ground. General Lee was in plain sight, and not over one hundred yards distant from the head of the Second Corps." This was, however, many miles from where General Grant then was. At the very moments of these requests Lee's men were fighting Sheridan and Ord and the Fifth Corps men; while all the Confederate Cavalry that could disentangle itself was flying away from Lee's battle lines.

Shortly after the note above quoted was dispatched by General Lee, he wrote again to the same effect and sent it by another messenger to a different point of the lines, explaining that a message from General Meade had intimated that this "would probably expedite matters." The battle was furiously

raging and time was important. This is one of the duplicates found in the records:

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN
VIRGINIA, April 9, 1865.

*Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding U.
S. Armies.*

General:—I sent a communication to you to-day from the picket-line, whither I had gone in the hopes of meeting you in pursuance of the request contained in my letter of yesterday. Major-General Meade informs me that it would probably expedite matters to send a duplicate through some other part of your lines. I therefore request an interview, at such time and place as you may designate, to discuss the terms of the surrender of this army in accordance with your offer to have such an interview, contained in your letter of yesterday. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE,
General.”

The first one of these duplicate notes of General Lee to reach General Grant was received by the latter (probably concurrently with the note from General Meade recommending the interview) at 11.50 A. M. as

appears by General Grant's prompt reply made at the same moment in these words:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

April 9, 1865.

General R. E. Lee, Commanding C. S. Army:

Your note of this date is but this moment (11.50 A. M.) received. In consequence of my having passed from Richmond and Lynchburg road to the Farmville and Lynchburg road, I am at this writing about four miles west of Walker's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you. Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place will meet me. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General."

Thus it appears that General Grant up to 11.50 A. M. had not received any definite request for an interview looking to an absolute surrender as demanded by him in his letter of April 7th to General Lee.

Each general had made his fighting arrangements for the day of the ninth, (Sunday) and the battle had gone forward accord-

ingly. It was actually suspended only by the appearances in unexpected quarters of Union infantry; which appearances caused and were followed at once by requests from Lee's subordinates who were encountering the infantry. These requests were based on erroneous statements of fact, like that made to Custer by Gordon, probably innocently made, that Grant and Lee were "in conference." They *afterwards* got into conference.

Meanwhile, as the conflict wore on, General Lee had again asked for a "suspension of hostilities," in the following note addressed to General Grant:

"April 9, 1865.

Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding U. S. Armies.

General: I ask a suspension of hostilities pending the adjustment of the terms of the surrender of this army, in the interview requested in my former communication to-day. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE,
General."

To this note, sent through General Meade, the latter not only forwarded it to General Grant, but also replied at twelve o'clock, as

follows to General Lee's urgent and repeated request for General Meade to order a suspension of hostilities:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
April 9, 1855 — 12 M.

General R. E. Lee:

I have no authority to suspend hostilities unless it is with the distinct understanding that you are prepared to accept the terms indicated in the letter of Lieutenant-General Grant sent to you *yesterday*. I understand General Grant did not accede to your proposition for an interview. Your letter will be at once forwarded to Lieutenant-General Grant, and perhaps I may be sooner advised by him if you have had any communication with other parts of our line. I am now advised by General Forsyth that a cessation of hostilities has been agreed upon between your command and *General Ord*. Under these circumstances, to enable General Forsyth to return and report my action, I agree to a suspension of hostilities until 2 P. M. this day, and shall be glad to prolong it upon being advised by you that you agree to General Grant's terms. Respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. G. MEADE,

Major-General, U. S. Army."

THE TRUCE.

Thus it happened that as late as 12 noon on April 9th, the battle had been suspended by General Lee's subordinates sending flags of truce and procuring a suspension, without indeed any authority of General Grant to his generals, and *without ostensible authority of General Lee to his own subordinates.*

One of these "duplicate" notes of General Lee was brought up by Longstreet to General Sheridan for General Grant about half an hour after Gordon and Sheridan had first met and agreed upon a temporary truce. It so happened that when Gordon's battling forces encountered the Union infantry and saw the impending cavalry charge that Sheridan was threatening, the flag of truce was sent by Gordon to Custer; who then hurried an aide to Sheridan saying: "Lee has surrendered; do not charge; the white flag is up." As Sheridan relates in his *Memories* the flag was sent out to Custer's "front and stopped the charge just in time."

Sheridan himself, having arranged with Ord about supporting the cavalry, and having ordered Crook "to hold his ground as long as practicable without sacrificing his men, and if forced to retire to contest with

obstinacy the enemy's advance," had gone towards Merritt's headquarters flag, with a view of completing his dispositions for this final attack. During these dispositions some of Merritt's men who had been fighting dismounted had mounted and moved off for their assigned positions. The Confederates observing their apparent withdrawal, and mistaken as to its motive, had pressed Crook still harder; but by the time Sheridan had reached Merritt's headquarters flag everybody, as Sheridan relates, was ready for work; so a move on the enemy's left was ordered, and every guidon was bent to the front.

This was indeed an imposing and unique spectacle. It was dramatic, and narrowly escaped becoming tragical. It was when the final formations were being made at a trot that the white flag came from Gordon to Custer; for then the Union infantry had irretrievably occupied the Lynchburg road in Gordon's front.

Sheridan at once started in his well-nigh fatal attempt to interview the Confederate commander at his immediate front, who had sent the flags that had stopped the charge. He also sent word to Ord and to his own generals. Seeing a mounted group which

he supposed was of some of his own generals, he rode towards them at the Court House, and was fired upon by musketry, so that he was obliged to seek the shelter of a convenient ridge. Afterwards, followed only by his color bearer, he approached another part of the enemy's line, and was halted by level muskets; while a Confederate soldier, assuming them to be coming in as prisoners, demanded Sheridan's battle flag. The sergeant bearing it drew his saber, and a personal encounter was narrowly averted by Sheridan's sending his battle flag back to his own lines and explaining, as he puts it,* "that the boot was on the other flag."

In a few minutes, Sheridan received a request from Generals Gordon and Wilcox, who were in the group he was approaching, to join them, with an apology for what had occurred, in response to a demand for an explanation. Sheridan had hardly met them when firing began again. Turning to Gordon, he said, "General, your men fired on me as I was coming over here, and undoubtedly they are treating Merritt and Custer the same way. We might as well let them *fight it out*." Gordon said: "There must be some mistake." Sheridan asked, "Why

* In *Sheridan's Memoirs*.

not send a staff officer and have your people cease firing; they are violating the flag." He answered: "I have no staff officer to send." Sheridan loaned him one of his, who dashed off with an order from General Gordon to General Gary, commanding a small brigade of South Carolina Cavalry, to discontinue firing, only to get Gary's reply: "I do not care for white flags: South Carolinians never surrender."

But they did; for Merritt's patience was exhausted and he ordered an attack, that before long "set things to rights" again.

With quiet restored the conference was resumed by General Gordon remarking: "General Lee asks for a suspension of hostilities pending the negotiations which he is having with General Grant." Sheridan responded: "I have been constantly informed of the progress of the negotiations, and think it singular that while such negotiations are going on, *General Lee should have continued his march and attempted to break through my lines this morning. I will entertain no terms except that General Lee shall surrender to General Grant on his arrival here. If these terms are not accepted we will renew hostilities.*" General Gordon replied: "General Lee's army is ex-

hausted. There is no doubt of his surrender to General Grant."

It was half an hour later, when Gordon brought General Longstreet up and renewed these assurances; and Sheridan sent his assistant adjutant general, Colonel Newhall,* with Lee's note Longstreet had brought up to find General Grant.

At Longstreet's request, fearing that General Meade, not knowing the new situation, might attack him, General J. W. Forsyth of Sheridan's staff was sent to General Meade by a short route through the Confederate lines, conducted by Colonel Fairfax of General Longstreet's staff; for General Meade was not without the suspicions that by renewed correspondence Lee was endeavoring to gain time to escape. Thus it came about that at noon General Meade wrote to General Lee the foregoing note agreeing to a suspension of hostilities until two o'clock, "to enable General Forsyth to return and report my action."

* The "notes" of which Chapters I. to XII. of this book are composed were written before the publication of Colonel Newhall's valuable volume entitled "With Sheridan in His Last Campaign." H. E. T.

GENERAL GRANT ARRIVES AT APPOMATTOX
VILLAGE.

On the road towards Prospect Station near its intersection with the Walker's Church road and about five or six miles from Appomattox, Colonel Newhall met General Grant. In attempting to conduct him and his staff to Sheridan by a "short cut" he lost his bearings, and came into view of the Confederate lines, which it would have been more than awkward, under the circumstances, for that particular party to have encountered. So steps were quickly retraced; and it was one o'clock before General Grant arrived at the edge of Appomattox village, "or cross-roads, for it was little more," where he was met by Generals Ord and Sheridan, who were dismounted. "How are you, Sheridan?" said Grant. "First rate," replied Sheridan. "Is General Lee up there?" asked Grant, pointing to the "village." Sheridan answered: "There is his army down in that valley, and he himself is over in that house (designating McLean's house) waiting to surrender to you." Then Grant said to Ord and Sheridan, "Come, let us go over," and they mounted and followed with no little cavalcade to the house where General Lee

had already arrived in consequence of a message received by him from General Grant through his aide, Colonel Babcock, consenting to the interview asked for by Lee in the note sent through General Meade's front.

General Grant had been quite indisposed, but replied to one of his staff during the Sunday morning's ride that "The pain in my head seemed to leave me the moment I got Lee's letter."

Nothing was more natural than that Grant, as he broke his headquarters camp on the morning of the ninth, should take his headquarters to the new front to be established by the night march his troops were making directly across Lee's road of retreat. Sheridan says that General Grant that morning started for that front in consequence of the two dispatches Grant received from Sheridan late in the night of April eighth (referring to those given at prior pages).

General Sheridan sent off his two dispatches of the previous evening from his headquarters, which he had established for the night of the eighth at a little farmhouse just south of the railroad station. He says he "did not sleep at all that night, nor did anybody else, the entire command being up all night long." But as a matter of fact, here

and there some sleep was obtained by the soldiers; the cavalry commands being accustomed to give each other opportunities for short rests under specially trying campaign exigencies. The staffs were kept going to and fro, many officers going both to Generals Ord and Grant requesting that the infantry be pushed forward all night.

General Ord reached Sheridan before sunrise; and although outranking him he heard all Sheridan's suggestions apparently with favor, for he afterwards acted upon them. He rode back to urge along his weary soldiers who had marched all night long; while Sheridan himself rode to overlook the lines of his own front nearer Appomattox Court House.

General Grant started early from his own headquarters and proceeded at once to the point of apparent crisis; leaving General Meade to conduct the pursuit in assailing, as he was ordered, the rear of Lee's retreating columns. With the Second and Sixth Corps and the artillery, Grant was sure that General Meade would gain and not yield ground; while Grant should attack Lee on his outer front and left flank.

A zealous biographer * of General Meade

* *Life of Meade*, by R. M. Bache,

has violently (in 1897) assailed General Grant [as General Meade never thought of doing] for "abruptly" leaving the vicinity of the army of the Potomac infantry "to reach the position of Sheridan; and without awaiting the reply to his (Grant's) last letter to Lee," which had been promptly dispatched by Grant. The absurd charge is made that Grant "had left the rear of the second corps through which he had successfully carried on his own correspondence with Lee, and had taken the *devious* (he took the only available) route to Lee's *rear* (he really went to Lee's *front*) which would be sure to delay his receipt of Lee's reply to his last communication" (which was declining a purposeless interview). And so it is seriously set out that General Grant, after expressing his "desire to put a stop to the further effusion of blood and the destruction of property, was not so far advanced towards those ends as was Lee who had assented to their desirability!"

Grant's whole army was moving; Lee had refused to surrender; the crisis of battle was to occur over the possession and control of the *Lynchburg road beyond Appomattox*. To that point Union troops had been marching all night. To that point more than half of

Grant's army would arrive, unless he hastened, before Grant himself could reach the battle ground. They were troops from three separate armies, the Army of the James, Sheridan's Army of the Valley and the Army of the Potomac. Nothing was more urgent than there should be no delay, no halting, no friction of commanders, no discordant possibilities; but a unity of command, an unquestionable commander on the battlefield. Meade with the Second and Sixth corps was touching Lee's *rear*, would halt it, and shortly would furiously battle with it. That battle could have but one result so long as Grant was crowding the forces of Sheridan and Ord and Griffin upon the only road by which Lee could further retreat. The battle Meade was ordered to wage depended for its consequences upon Grant's success in reaching Lee's front upon the road.

Grant would have been neglectful of his duty as a commander on that morning had he tarried a moment to *await an unpromised letter* from Lee; instead of pushing as he did, notwithstanding he was almost too ill for the saddle, to reach the battlefield where Sheridan had the night before already commenced the final engagement of the war. To charge the commanding general with avoid-

ing "a solution of the difficulties" of bloodshed in war, grounded on what is wantonly styled "the implacable foe of his better self, favoritism," when in truth General Grant was only doing what any level-headed general ought to have done, is to discredit the author of such a charge, to nullify his authority as a conscientious biographer, and so injure—if he could—the untarnished repute of his biographical subject.

THE CONFEDERATE INTENTIONS.

Had General Lee, as he rode to what he styled "the picket line" expecting to meet General Grant, and before learning there the outcome of his Sunday morning collisions, intended to surrender his army absolutely, he would have halted his army in a compact defensive position. The evidence points to the absence of any such intention on his part. He might have been willing to recognize the inevitable; but until the morning's battle had progressed beyond the first Confederate successes, and had reached the second stage pre-saging a sanguinary Confederate defeat, there seemed no other Confederate intention than to escape with as much as possible, and

to *capitulate with as little* as possible, on the best terms obtainable.

So it came about that at 12.20 o'clock Humphreys ordered that "everything will remain as now for one hour. The same thing is done by the enemy." At 9 A. M. he had reported that the fighting "is still continuing" at Appomattox Court House.

At noon also the singular fact remains that while the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac (Meade) wrote Lee that he had "no authority to suspend hostilities," yet at the same moment the finesse of the Confederate Generals had already procured a truce; and more or less of the Confederate Cavalry had continued to escape. For the one side the truce was actual; for the other it was nominal. Between the alternatives of escape and surrender it was not strange that discipline was necessarily relaxed. The *orders for Lee's cavalry to escape* do not seem to have been countermanded; but were in large part successfully carried out.

Nor were all minds inspired exclusively with plans for "escape." General Merritt, on April 9, wrote Sheridan that his chief surgeon heard it from Confederate surgeons in a hospital that "Lee is said to have ridden along his army lines and assured his soldiers

of a glorious victory shortly,"—referring probably to an occurrence on the seventh or eighth of April.

Fitzhugh Lee with five of his staff came in and surrendered to General Meade, on April 11, saying that "on hearing of the surrender of the Confederate army he ordered his command to disperse and return to their homes" as reported to Grant by Meade April 12.

But this will suffice from "the record" about the military politics of this famous battle day.

When the two commanders finally came together at the dwelling of Mr. McLean, near the Court House, the conversation was comparatively brief. Grant describes it in his memoirs. Drafts were made of the two letters to be exchanged, and that were finally exchanged. There was an awkward pause while the copies were being made. Something was said by Lee about rations. Afterwards, a wagon train of rations was seen wending its way from the Union army into Lee's camp. The result of the talk by the chiefs was summed up in the two concluding letters simultaneously signed. These letters were as follows :

APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA., April 9, 1865.

GENERAL R. E. LEE.

GENERAL: In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to re-

ceive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by U. S. authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General."

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
April 9, 1865.

LIEUT.-GEN. U. S. GRANT.

GENERAL: I have received your letter of this date containing the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

R. E. LEE,
General."

When these two letters were signed and delivered the interview terminated as it had begun, with all the politeness and dignity due to the occasion.

The glee of the Union officers in dispersing to their several posts was illustrated by Sheridan's enthusiasm, and his purchase of the table on which the surrender letters were signed,—giving for it some of the gold coin which he was in the habit of jingling in his trousers pockets. Presenting the table to Custer, the latter, with a boyish prank, lifted it upon his own head, and seizing the legs to steady his burden ran away with it from the house in joyous pride at his valued prize.

Turning to the doings of the Union troops themselves, the official narrative is resumed as freshly penned by their leaders in the performance of their regular duties. All is brief and soldierly, and although penned during, and with the belief in an enduring, peace, the paragraphs are wonderfully free from the natural elation that might be looked for, and evince almost a studied avoidance of the actual joyousness that inflamed their authors.

REPORTS OF THE UNION GENERALS.

The Union forces consisted of troops of the Army of the Potomac and Army of the James, the former commanded by Major-General Meade and the latter by Major-General Ord. The cavalry of the latter, however, under Brigadier-General Mackenzie was ordered to report to Major-General Sheridan, and by the latter ordered to report to Major-General Crook.

Sheridan's immediate command was of all the cavalry; but as Sheridan was a "Department" commander,—he having come from the Shenandoah Valley with troops from that Army or Department,—he reported directly to General Grant. Sheridan's command, therefore, included Crook's

Division (2d Division) consisting of all the cavalry that had continuously remained with the Army of the Potomac, and the two cavalry divisions that had come from the Shenandoah Valley under Generals Custer (3d Division) and Thomas Devin (1st Division.) Each of these divisions comprised nominally three brigades; but in numbers some of the "brigades" did not equal a regiment:—a circumstance which must always be considered in comparing the aggregate troops in Union divisions with Confederate divisions, the latter usually comprising also four or more brigades.

General Ord, although commander of the Army of the James, only had with him the 24th Corps under Major General Gibbon, and one Division of the 25th Corps, and Mackenzie's small brigade of cavalry.

General Meade exercised immediate command only over the combined Second-Third (Humphreys'), the Fifth (Griffin's) and the Sixth (Wright's) Corps. The Sixth Corps, however, did not participate in the Appomattox battle; although had the battle continued all day it would have reached the field in ample season to assist; lining up, as the intention was, on the right of the Second Corps.

A notable feature of this campaign from

the fall of Petersburg is the personal direction by General Grant of the daily operations of each particular corps, and sometimes of divisions. His directions, however, were always scrupulously given through the particular army commander.

The movements of Grant's forces on the 8th and 9th emphasize this feature, and bring out in bold relief the unity of motion that comes from a strong directing mind bent upon permitting no ambiguity of orders, and thus working harmoniously all the forces towards the grand result aimed at.

It was the marches made under these orders on the eighth of April that made the battle of the ninth a final engagement. Not a division, not a brigade, not a regiment or a battery that was essential to that battle of the morning of the ninth was out of its needed place. At times it did seem to those hard pressed on the early field that others not yet up should arrive; but all this had been anticipated, and no efforts were spared in crowding forward all the needed troops. The new arrivals came none too soon. Had, for instance, Foster's Division of the 24th Corps arrived an hour later, it is easy to speculate what, if anything, would that morning have been surrendered.

The marches from and after the morning of the eighth were laid out by General Grant after the reports had reached him at Farmville of the battle of the seventh of April fought on the Union side by Humphreys' (Second) Corps and Crook's Division (2d) of cavalry.

This was Grant's order issued that evening (April 7th) from his headquarters at Farmville, where Lee's headquarters had been the night before:

"General Meade:

Order the Fifth Corps to follow the Twenty-fourth at 6 A. M. up the Lynchburg road, the Second and Sixth to follow the enemy north of the river.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General."

Sheridan had been ordered, and was already in two columns well on his way towards Appomattox depot, one column moving by way of Prospect Station, and the other column still further to the left, and more directly across the path of the enemy's road at Appomattox.

It was the long and severe march of these columns that created the surprises of the

night of the eighth, as reported by the Confederate commanders, who mistakenly regarded them as forays by small parties. General R. E. Lee officially reported them as having been "repelled." (?)

On the eighth of April Sheridan reported that "should we not intercept the enemy and he be forced into Lynchburg, his surrender then is beyond question"; and that "he must have taken the *fine road* north of the Appomattox River."

Sheridan's conduct and language assumed, as the facts subsequently transpired, that *General Lee had no intention of surrendering his army, absolutely and completely, unless he should be compelled to do so.* Lee's orders and the conduct of all his principal generals, showed that Sheridan's assumption was correct.

With this explanatory preface of the situation the non-military reader will better enjoy the further narrative of the battle and surrender at Appomattox, in the language of the chief commanders.

First in order, therefore, would be the following extract from the official report of Major-General Meade. Under date of April 30th 1865, General Meade says:

GENERAL MEADE'S REPORT.

"The next day, April 8, the pursuit was continued on the Lynchburg stage road. On the 9th, at 12 M., the head of the Second Corps, when within three miles of Appomattox Court House, came up with the enemy. At the same time I received a letter from General Lee asking for a suspension of hostilities pending negotiations for surrender. Soon after receiving this letter Brigadier-General Forsyth, of General Sheridan's staff, came through the enemy's lines and notified me a truce had been made by Major-General Ord, commanding the troops on the other side of Appomattox Court House. In consequence of this I replied to General Lee that I should suspend hostilities for two hours. At the expiration of that time I received the instructions of the lieutenant-general commanding to continue the armistice until further orders, and about 4 p. m. I received the welcome intelligence of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia."

Following this brief report of General Meade, it would be of interest to read what is reported by some of his subordinate Generals. So here is what General A. A. Hum-

phreys commanding the Second Corps (which included the remnants also of the old Third Corps, assigned to Humphreys' Third Division), speaking of April 8th, says:

SECOND CORPS REPORT.

“As soon as the rations could be issued the troops moved forward again (at 8 A. M.) and at 11 A. M. came up with the enemy's skirmishers about three miles from Appomattox Court House, where they remained during the day under the flag of truce. At about 4 P. M. it was announced that the Army of Northern Virginia had capitulated. [Extract of Report of A. A. Humphreys, Major-General, Commanding. Dated, Headquarters Second Army Corps, Virginia, April 21, 1865.]”

The flag of truce referred to was brought to the lines of the 140th Pennsylvania regiment of this corps, whose commander, under date of April 16, 1865, says:

“Our march toward Lynchburg on the 8th was uninterrupted, and we continued the pursuit of the enemy until 12 o'clock at night. On the morning of the 9th, being the Sab-

bath, we were placed in the advance, and through the skirmish line of this regiment the flag of truce was entertained which terminated in the surrender of the Confederate forces under the command of General Lee.

I am very respectfully,

W. A. F. STOCKTON,
Captain, Commanding Regiment."

This regiment was part of the 1st brigade, 1st division (Miles Division) of the Second Corps. This division had marched only six miles that morning and halted at 11 A. M. near the enemy's skirmishes, as stated in the brigade and division reports.

FIFTH CORPS REPORT.

General Meade's old corps, the Fifth, was commanded by Brevet Major-General Charles Griffin, who reports having moved in obedience to the orders issued by Grant, as already quoted, his corps marching toward the Lynchburg railroad "striking it at Prospect Station, thence following the Twenty-fourth Corps toward Appomattox Court-House, bivouacking the next morning about 2 A. M., within about two miles of the above place, having marched a distance of twenty-nine miles. The march from Prospect

Station was very slow and tedious, the road being obstructed by the repeated and long halts of the Twenty-fourth Corps."

The same report thus continues: "April 9 the Corps moved about 4 A. M., reaching general headquarters near Appomattox Court House, about 6 A. M. Very soon after it was reported that the cavalry were heavily engaged and hard pressed. The Twenty-fourth Corps was moving when the Second Division, under General Ayres, moved on a parallel line rapidly toward the firing. A message was received from General Sheridan, through his aide, Captain Martin, that the enemy was pressing back the cavalry. General Ayres immediately pushed forward his division at a double-quick, and deployed the One Hundred and Ninetieth and One Hundred and Ninety-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, under Colonel Pattee, as skirmishers, they being armed with the Spencer rifle, and the rest of the division in two lines of battle. The First Division, under General Bartlett, came up on the right, and formed two lines of battle, with the One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Pennsylvania, a portion of the One Hundred and Ninety-eighth Pennsylvania, and the One

Hundred and Eighty-fifth New York Volunteers as a skirmish line. All immediately moved forward and attacked the enemy, pushing him back, and driving both his infantry and artillery from the hills westward through the town, taking a number of prisoners, several wagons, caissons, and limbers. A portion of the skirmish line had entered the town, being strongly supported by our lines of battle, when a message was received from General Sheridan that hostilities would be suspended, as General Lee was about to surrender." [Extract of report of Chas. Griffin, Brev. Maj.-Genl, commanding Fifth Corps Army of the Potomac, dated, Nottoway Court House, April 29, 1865.]

The Division of this (Fifth) Corps that first reached the Appomattox field, where Sheridan at that moment greatly needed it, was the First Division, under *Joshua L. Chamberlain*, its senior Brigade Commander; whose brigade, General Griffin, in a special commentary report, says was driving the enemy when the truce was ordered.

GENERAL CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICIAL NARRATIVE IS AS FOLLOWS:

"Marched at 4 A. M. on the 9th to the

vicinity of Appomattox Court House, being but a short distance, and found the cavalry warmly engaged. My brigade having the advance was filed to the right, moved to the rear of the cavalry, and formed on the right of the division and corps, in two lines. A heavy skirmish line was thrown forward, connecting with the Third Brigade skirmishers on the left, and our lines advanced against the enemy, relieving the cavalry, who reformed on my right. The skirmishers drove the enemy rapidly before them, while our line of battle was opened on by a battery in the town, my right being exactly in the line of fire. My skirmish line had reached the town, its right being at the house of Mrs. Wright, and my line of battle was rapidly closing on them, when a flag of truce came in with an aide of the commanding officer of the opposing forces, who was referred to the major-general commanding. I soon after received the order to halt my lines and to cease the skirmishing. During the conference which ensued we remained as we had halted, and afterward went into camp near the same ground. My loss this day was, one killed and one wounded, Lieut. Hiram Clark, of the One Hundred and Eighty-fifth New

York being instantly killed by a cannon-shot, just as the flag of truce came in.*

Respectfully submitted,

J. L. CHAMBERLAIN,

Brig.-Genl., Late Commdg. First Brigade.

CAPT. WILLIAM FOWLER,

Asst. Adjt. Gen., First Div. Fifth Corps.

Dated Camp of First Division, Fifth Corps, April 24, 1865." [Extract of Report.]

Here is what is said by some of Chamberlain's subordinate commanders:

Brevet Brigadier-General E. M. Gregory, Commanding Second Brigade, 1st Division, Fifth Corps, reports:

"April 9, moved at 5.30 A. M., following Third Brigade, the First Brigade leading, and marched some three miles. Found the cavalry engaged with the enemy near Appomattox Court House. I formed my brigade in two lines of battle, joining the Third Brigade on the right, and sent forward a line of skirmishers. Advancing toward the crest of the hill (Clover) in perfect order and precision, we halted at 9.30 A. M. when the word came of the surrender of General Lee, commanding Confederate forces. This was given us by

* Copy of so much of this Report as relates to operations, April 1-5, was furnished General Sheridan April 14.

an officer of General Sheridan's staff. This was afterward verified." First Div. Fifth Army Corps, April 18, 1865.

Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Myers in this brigade, commanding 187th New York Volunteers (April 19, 1865) says:

"Marched on the 8th all day until 12 P. M. ; went into bivouac, with orders to march at 4 A. M. Marched at 5.30 A. M., formed a line of battle about 8, and advanced, holding the left of the first line, when the news of the proposed surrender of Lee's army was received. Went into bivouac about 4 P. M."

Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Doolittle commanding the 188th New York Volunteers (April 14, 1865) says:

"April 9, marched to Appomattox Station, formed line of battle, and were advancing on the enemy when a flag of truce was received from the enemy, when all operations ceased. Bivouacked for the night near Appomattox Station."

Capt. George R. Abbott, commanding the First Maine Sharpshooters, in another brigade of this corps, reports interestingly (April 24, 1865) thus:

"At 5 A. M. the 9th instant marched and proceeded to the front, passing on the road cavalry bringing to the rear captured flags

and guns; formed line of battle and advanced, the enemy shelling us. When we had driven them back to within a mile of their trains a flag of truce appeared from their lines. We were halted and it was reported that the enemy had surrendered.

Private Henry Giles, Company A, during the advance on April 1, in crossing a swamp, lost his company, and was taken prisoner by a rebel cavalryman, who disarmed him; watching his chance he sprung under the horse's neck and seized the cavalryman, dragging him from his horse, at the same time receiving a severe blow on the head and arm. He then disarmed him, sprung onto the horse, the rebel cavalry after him, and came in toward our lines, where he was again taken prisoner by our troops as a rebel. As they were taking him along the lines I saw him and released him."

The report of *Brig.-Gen'l Joseph Hayes* commanding First Brigade, Second Division, of this (Fifth) Corps says (April 24, 1865) that "on the morning of the 9th, marched six miles toward Appomattox and formed in line of battle about 9 A. M. The cavalry, which had been engaging the enemy, were being repulsed and driven back when this brigade, which formed the head of the column of the

corps, reached the field. The divisions forming and immediately pressing forward, the enemy gradually withdrew. Soon a white flag coming from the enemy, a halt was made in our advancing lines, and hostilities ceased."

Col. T. F. McCoy, commanding the 107th Regiment Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers in this (Fifth) corps, under date of April 14th, 1865, reports thus:

"April 9, soon after daylight the division was again on the march, our brigade leading. Canonading soon began forward in the direction of our advance. We soon came near the spot where this last skirmishing with the rebel army took place, and found that the cavalry under Sheridan, part of the Twenty-fourth Corps, and our own (Fifth Corps) were occupying the road leading through Appomattox Court House toward Lynchburg, over which General Lee with his army must pass if he ever succeeded in reaching that point. At this time our columns were forming to advance upon the enemy, then a short distance east of the Court House. He, finding himself surrounded on all sides with nearly the whole Army of the Potomac, and that it would be destruction to attempt a further advance, sent in a white flag, which resulted in a truce until 4 o'clock, at which

hour it was announced, amidst the acclamations of the troops present, that General Lee had, upon conditions proposed by Lieutenant-General Grant, surrendered himself and the Army of Northern Virginia, under his command. This great and happy event closed the operations of the 9th, capping the climax of great achievements for the Army of the Potomac, and rendering it, and the day itself, ever memorable in history."

GENERAL ORD'S REPORT.

The report of *Major-General E. O. C. Ord*, dated April 26, 1865, commanding the Army of the James, tersely explains the whole story of Appomattox in a paragraph. This is General Ord's narrative of the strategy and final collision. He says:

"At Farmville the rebels had some seven trains of supplies which had come down from Lynchburg to meet them, but we were upon their flank and rear before they marched into Farmville. The railroad here passed to the south of Appomattox, the main road to Lynchburg to the north of it, the two roads crossing nearly together again at Appomattox Court House; so that General Lee not being able to hold Farmville long enough to get

the food and clothing off the trains, sent them up to Appomattox by rail, while he took the Lynchburg road around to the north so as to strike the supplies at Appomattox; but General Grant was too quick for him, dispatching Sheridan with his cavalry to go around and head them at Appomattox at once (the trains of provisions were all captured or driven back), and dispatching my command on the heels of Sheridan, with directions to me to pick up Griffin's corps, then pushing from Prince Edward toward Appomattox, *and with both corps to attack Lee on the head and front.*

I marched my men from daylight on the 8th until 10 A. M. on the 9th of April, except three hours, and deployed my two corps across the head of the valley just as Lee's advance was pushing out for it; for *in spite of Sheridan's attempts to hold him, our cavalry were falling back in confusion before Lee's infantry.*

We were barely in time; General Lee would not believe General Gordon when the latter told him Ord's army was in his front, so General Gordon told me after the surrender. (This shows that General Lee expected much of his army to escape surrender.—H. E. T.) But we soon deployed and went in. Gibbon

on the left at double quick, with Foster's and Turner's divisions, in beautiful style, and the colored troops also at the double quick, under those commanders, with the Fifth Corps under Griffin; thus covering all the valley that led toward Lynchburg and adjacent hillsides, and our skirmishers were driving in the enemy's, so that *seeing no escape*, General Lee sent the white flag forward, which met me at the Fifth Corps front, with a request for cessation of arms until he could meet General Grant and confer on the terms.

As I knew that a surrender had been called for, and terms asked for and made known, I knew this second request meant acceptance, and the bugles were sounded to halt. The cheer of final success and of an end to our hardships went up with a will from hillside to hillside, and the rebels laid down (their) arms that night—it is to be hoped never to take them up again except in defense of our common country.

I do not think the troops could have behaved better; their hard night marching and their cheerfulness under hard work all the time, their stubborn fighting at Petersburg and every time we struck the retreating rebels, proved that the whole army was inspired with but one determination—to hunt the rebels

down and whip them into surrender; and they did.

Respectfully
E. O. C. ORD,
Major-General Volunteers."

SOME CAVALRY REPORTS.

The foregoing extracts from reports in the Fifth and Second Corps and from General Ord's will suffice until we read what is said by Sheridan and his officers.

First then as to the orders given by Sheridan to his two subordinate chiefs, Crook and Merritt. Here they are, the first issued for the eighth, and the second as the "starter" for the surrender battle of the Ninth:

"CAVALRY HEADQUARTERS, PROSPECT STATION,
April 8, 1865.

*Maj.-Gen. George Crook, Commanding
Second Cav. Div.*

General: The major-general commanding directs that you move your command in the direction of the Appomattox Depot, so as to reach there to-night, unless the enemy's movements interfere with these instructions. You will move your division on the road running near the railroad. General Merritt will move his command on the direct road to Appomattox Court House, and will move on Appomat-

tox Depot when he arrives in the vicinity of Ferguson Mountain.

General Merritt will be required to keep open communications with you on the side roads. General Mackenzie will be ordered to report to you with his command.

Very respectfully,

JAS. W. FORSYTH,
Chief of Staff."

For the battle of Sunday, the ninth, preparation was made by the orders of Saturday night as follows:

"CAVALRY HEADQUARTERS APPOMATTOX DEPOT,
April 8, 1865.

(ORDERS) The troops of this command will be formed and on the alert at 4 A. M. tomorrow. By command of

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN.

JAS. W. FORSYTH,
Chief of Staff.

General Sheridan's report upon the operations of the eighth and ninth of April is next here set out, followed by the reports of General Merritt, and his Division commanders Custer and Devin; and by the reports of General Crook, commanding Second (or Army of Potomac) Cavalry Division; and General Mackenzie commanding the Army of the James' Cavalry; together with other ex-

tracts from various brigade and regimental reports that tell, better than any constructed narrative, the thrilling experiences of the Appomattox battle.

First then in order is the following:

EXTRACT FROM GENERAL SHERIDAN'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

“On the morning of the 8th Merritt and Mackenzie continued the march to Prospect Station, and Merritt's and Crook's commands then moved on to Appomattox Depot, a point on the Lynchburg railroad, five miles south of Appomattox Court House. Shortly after the march commenced, Sergeant White, one of my scouts, notified me that there were four trains of cars at Appomattox Depot loaded with supplies for General Lee's army. Generals Merritt and Crook were at once notified, and the command pushed on briskly for twenty-eight miles. General Custer had the advance, and, nearing the depot, skillfully threw a force in rear of the trains and captured them. Without halting a moment he pushed on, driving the enemy (who had reached the depot about the same time as our cavalry) in the direction of the Appomattox Court House, capturing many prisoners and twenty-five pieces of artillery, a hospital

train, and a large park of wagons. General Devin coming up went in on the right of Custer. The fighting continued till after dark, and the enemy being driven to Appomattox Court House I at once notified the lieutenant-general, and sent word to Generals Ord and Gibbon, of the Army of the James, and General Griffin, commanding the Fifth Corps, who were in the rear, that if they pressed on there was now no means of escape for the enemy, who had reached the last ditch.

During the night, although we knew that the remnant of Lee's army was in our front, we held fast with the cavalry to what we had gained, and ran the captured trains back along the railroad to a point where they would be protected by our infantry that was coming up.

The Twenty-fourth and Fifth Corps and one division of the Twenty-fifth Corps *arrived about daylight* on the 9th at Appomattox Depot. After consulting with General Ord, who was in command of these corps, I rode to the front, near Appomattox Court House; and just as the enemy in heavy force was attacking the cavalry with the intention of breaking through our lines, *I directed the cavalry, which was dismounted, to fall back*

gradually, resisting the enemy, so as to give time for the infantry to form its lines and march to attack, and when this was done to move off to the right flank and mount. This was done, and the enemy discontinued his attack as soon as he caught sight of our infantry. I moved briskly around the left of the enemy's line of battle, which was falling back rapidly, heavily pressed by the advances of the infantry, and was about to charge the trains and the confused mass of the enemy, when a white flag was presented to General Custer, who had the advance, and who sent the information to me at once that the enemy desired to surrender.

Riding over to the left at Appomattox Court House I met Major-General Gordon, of the rebel service, and Major-General Wilcox. *General Gordon requested a suspension of hostilities pending negotiations for surrender then being held between Lieutenant-General Grant and General Lee. I notified him that I desired to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood, but as there was nothing definitely settled in the correspondence, and as an attack had been made on my lines with the view to escape, under the impression our force was only cavalry, I must have some assurance of an intended surrender. This General Gor-*

don gave, by saying that there was no doubt of the surrender of General Lee's army. I then separated from him, with an agreement to meet these officers again in half an hour, at Appomattox Court House. At the specified time, in company with General Ord, who commanded the infantry, I again met this officer, also Lieutenant-General Longstreet, and received from them the same assurances, and hostilities ceased until the arrival of Lieutenant-General Grant. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

P. H. SHERIDAN,
Major-General.

TO BVT. MAJ.-GEN. JOHN A. RAWLINS,
Chief of Staff."

Next in order would be the report of General Wesley Merritt, commanding the two Cavalry Divisions of Devin and Custer. This report is dated April 20th, 1865, and so far as it relates to the operations under consideration says:

"April 9th at daylight the command was in readiness to move. General Crook relieved the First Division in the position which it had occupied during the night (i. e. advanced within a short distance of Appomattox Court House, being posted across the road on which

the enemy was attempting to move and effectually destroying his chance of making a night's march in retreat as he intended to do as on former occasions). The enemy advanced against General Crook's front in heavy force. The cavalry was forced back by overwhelming numbers.

General Custer was immediately ordered to move up with his division. The cavalry retired slowly *but of necessity*. Soon the 24th Corps took up Custer's line on the left of the First Division (Devin) and the 5th Corps deployed in rear of Devin. So soon as the heavy columns of the enemy discovered we had infantry in position, he abandoned his evidently formed idea of forcing the road of his retreat and retired precipitately toward the valley where his wagon train was parked. The cavalry now disengaged (i. e. Merritt's) was thrown rapidly to the right, taking possession of the high ground on the enemy's left within a short half mile of his camp. There every disposition was made for an attack. The rebel army was at our mercy. The artillery played rapidly for a few moments when a flag of truce from the enemy's lines silenced forever the noise of battle between the Union and rebel armies of Virginia."

The report of General Thomas Devin, commanding the First Division of Merritt's Corps, says:

"Heavy firing had at this time (i. e. on the morning of April 9th) commenced in front of the 2d (Crook's) Division. The command was now moved to the right and well to the front of the Second Division when the enemy was discovered *advancing in two heavy lines of battle* * * * Every exertion was made to effect a diversion in favor of General Crook and hold the position until the arrival of our infantry. The heavy masses of the enemy soon forced back the Second Division and a strong line was now advanced upon the First Division.

We were shortly forced back and after a hard fight pushed across the road, Fuger's section (of artillery) remaining in position until the enemy's line was within one hundred yards * * * The whole line was now dismounted and horses retired; barricades were being erected and every precaution made to hold the crest in rear when the Fifth Corps arrived and advanced in line of battle * * *

The division was now ordered to mount * * * (the Reserve Brigade being already

engaged at the time hostilities were ordered to cease").

The report of General G. A. Custer, commanding the other Division (known as 3d Division) in Merritt's Corps is dated April 15th, 1865, and says:

"From Sailor's Creek we moved, on the 7th and 8th, without opposition until we reached Appomattox Station, where we surprised the enemy and captured three large trains of cars loaded with rations for the rebel army. The locomotives being in good running order the trains, with their contents, were run back to a point of safety, in the direction of Farmville. Learning that the enemy was moving a large train upon the road from Appomattox Court House across the Lynchburg railroad I ordered the entire division forward to attack. The train was found to be guarded by about two divisions of infantry, in addition to over thirty pieces of artillery, all under command of Major-General Walker. Most of the enemy's guard were placed in position and their fire concentrated upon the road over which it was necessary for me to advance. The enemy succeeded in repulsing nearly all our attacks, until nearly 9 o'clock at night, when by a gen-

eral advance along my line he was forced from his position and compelled to abandon to our hands twenty-four pieces of artillery, all his trains, several battle-flags, and a large number of prisoners. Our loss was slight. Our advance reached Appomattox Court House that night and charged into the camp of the rebel army.

The following morning my command was moved toward Appomattox Court House, about which point the entire rebel army was massed. Moving at a rapid gait and under a heavy artillery fire I placed my command upon the extreme right of our army, which was then moving to the attack of the enemy's position. Driving back his skirmishers, we had almost gained possession of his trains, when a staff officer of General Longstreet came galloping into our lines under a flag of truce, requesting a suspension of hostilities. After making a proper disposition of my forces either to make or repel an attack the truce was agreed to until instructions could be received from the proper authority. The result is already known.

The rapidity with which battle followed battle in the late campaign, each time resulting in the glorious victory for our arms, has prevented me from going into detail. A mere

reference to each engagement is all that has been attempted in this report.

During the brief period of ten days my command captured in open battle 46 pieces of artillery and 37 battle flags. This of itself is the best evidence I could wish to offer of the gallantry and heroism displayed by this division. Respectfully submitted,

G. A. CUSTER,

*Brevet Major-General, Commanding 3d
Cav. Div.*

TO BREVET MAJ.-GENL. MERRITT,
Acting Chief of Cavalry."*

The report of Major-General George Crook dated April 18th, 1865, says:

"After dark (April 8) I was ordered to send a brigade to hold the road leading from Appomattox Court House to Lynchburg. Smith's Brigade was sent; he selected a good position near the Court House. The enemy made no demonstrations during the night, but the next morning at a very early hour, he moved a very heavy line against him which he held in check until General Mackenzie got up and went in on Smith's left. Davies was sent on a reconnaissance to the left, while Col. (S. B. M.) Young's Brigade was held in reserve. At about 9 A. M. the enemy

* See Page 438.

made a strong attack on my front and flanks with a large force of infantry, while *their cavalry attacked my rear*. Mackenzie and Smith were forced to retire by overwhelming numbers until relieved by the infantry. When we reorganized and were getting ready to go to the front an order for cessation of hostilities reached me."

As the burden of the cavalry fight on the morning of the ninth was borne by Crook's Division, which had not been engaged the day before, this narration from official sources would be incomplete without some statements of Crook's subordinate generals.

Crook's brigade Commanders at Appomattox were General Henry E. Davies, Jr. (First Brigade); Col. Samuel B. M. Young (2d Brigade); General Charles H. Smith (3d Brigade); and General R. S. Mackenzie leading the Cavalry from the Army of the James.

An extract is given here from the report of each.

General Davies under date of April 14th, says:

"On 9th, the Brigade moved out on a reconnaissance around the enemy's right; but while on the road, hearing that the remainder

of the division had been *attacked in heavy force*, I made a demonstration in that direction and repulsed a cavalry force moving toward the left and rear of our army. Afterward having been joined by the Second Brigade I attacked the enemy's cavalry in my front and was driving them rapidly when orders directing a suspension of hostilities were received."

Extract from the report of Col. Samuel B. M. Young (4 Penna. Cavalry) Comdg. 2d Brigade, 2d Cavalry Division, dated April 14, 1865:

"On the 9th was ordered out to the main Lynchburg road to support General Smith and General Mackenzie, who were being forced back by the enemy's infantry. Smith was retiring by the right and Mackenzie by the left oblique, and the enemy taking advantage charged one regiment of cavalry through the interval and came up on my rear, and that instant the 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry, who had been ordered to a new position, met and charged them in column, effectually routing them, killing the color-bearer and capturing the colors of 14th Virginia Cavalry. At the same time the 16th Pennsylvania Cavalry, who had been dismounted,

were double-quickened around by the rear and drove the enemy out of the woods. At the same time the enemy attacked my left flank, but were held in check by the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry, until the infantry who were close at hand relieved my command. Not finding the division commander, I reported to General Davies, *who was engaging the enemy on the road* in the direction of Lynchburg, and was ordered to join him with my command. The brigade was massed on the left of the road and pushed forward at a trot when orders were received to halt and cease firing. General Davies sent a flag of truce, and a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon."

Extract from report of Brev. Brig.-Gen'l Charles H. Smith (1st Maine Cavalry Colonel), commanding Third Brigade, 2d Cavalry Division, dated April 15th, 1865:

"At 9 P. M. (April 8th) I received orders from Maj. Gen'l commanding the division to move with my brigade on to the main road leading from Appomattox Court House to Lynchburg and hold it against the approach of the enemy. I reached the road by a march of about two miles and at a point two and one-half miles from the Court House. Feeling

the importance of gaining as much ground as possible to enable me, in case of an attack, to make a fight till notice could be given and reinforcements got up, I advanced down the road cautiously, feeling my way, at midnight, till I encountered and drove in the enemy's pickets within half a mile of the Court House. There I ordered a section of 3-inch guns—Lieut. James H. Lord, Battery A., 2d U. S. Artillery—into position, dismounted three regiments—the 1st Maine, 6th Ohio and 2d N. Y. Mounted Rifles—threw up breastworks of rails, and waited till daylight without blankets or fires.

At daylight the enemy advanced to attack, and then the advantage of the position I had obtained by pushing forward during the night became apparent. My command was posted on a ridge or kind of plateau higher than any point at the enemy's command. Consequently when his first attack was met by a rapid and vigorous firing from the section of artillery and a brisk fire from the skirmish line, being unable to ascertain the strength of our position except by direct assault, he desisted at the time and delayed about two hours in manœuvering, *driving in my mounted men from the ranks* and before he attempted to advance in force. I am of the opinion that had the

position I held been left for the occupation of the enemy he would have discovered my strength and continued his march at daylight, gained full possession of the road and extended his left beyond our right, thus perhaps producing a material difference in the results of the day. By the delay of these two hours our forces were got into position, so that when my command retired before the enemy advancing in force, he was received at Ready Aim fire; and the career of the Army of Virginia was brought to an end."

Extract from the report of Brig.-Gen. Randol S. Mackenzie, Commanding Cavalry Brigade of Army of the James, dated May 8, 1865:

"On the morning of the 9th the command, now consolidated into one Brigade, was moved to the left of Gen. Crook's Division at a point about one mile and a half from Appomattox Court House and immediately on the road to Lynchburg. * * * As many miles intervened between this command and the other troops of the Army of the James, I acted generally under the orders of Maj.-Genl. Sheridan; and on this occasion by his direction under those of Maj.-Genl. Crook. By his direction I sent the 11th Pennsylvania

Cavalry some distance to the left of the road to guard the left flank. Soon afterward the enemy attacked. I was ordered by Gen'l Crook through one of his staff to withdraw slowly when it became necessary, as it would be, he stated, very soon. *The enemy had for some time been moving a column of cavalry to our left and rear*, while he attacked with infantry in front. There would have been no trouble in repulsing the enemy from our immediate front, but the attack came so soon after our arrival that the connection which I had commenced establishing between my right and Gen'l Crook's left could not be made. The 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry and 1st District of Columbia Cavalry and the 1st Maryland Cavalry were dismounted and formed in line across the road, and after some sharp firing we slowly withdrew down the road. A section of Battery M. 1st U. S. Artillery which had been doing excellent service was sent to the rear. Col. Evans was directed previous to the withdrawal of the 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry to take his men down the road, mount them as soon as possible and return. Some unauthorized person, however, moved the Colonel's horses such a long distance to the rear that he was much delayed in remounting his men, and the same mentioned indi-

vidual sent Lieutenant Olcott with one piece of his section down a road to the left as we fell back, where this piece was captured by the enemy, who, finding a line on the road which they could not readily break, pushed round the flanks and came upon this gun in a narrow road in the woods, several hundred yards in the rear of the line, but to the left, retiring. The other piece of this section was never captured. About this time the 24th Corps arrived and the command was extricated from a very dangerous position. In conclusion with reference to this skirmish I will state, that I withdrew much more slowly before a very much superior force of the enemy than I otherwise should have done, from my knowledge that it was *very important that the road should be held till our infantry arrived*, which I knew would not happen early in the day. Immediately after the arrival of the 24th Corps I was directed to move my command down the road from Appomattox Court House to Lynchburg, in the direction of Lynchburg to assist Genl. Davies, who was at that time strongly pressed by the cavalry, referred to as *having passed around my left flank*. After some skirmishing and when we were about to attack the enemy news was brought of the suspension of hostilities."

The Cavalry of the Army of the James had started on this Appomattox campaign with a division organization composed of two brigades; but was on April 8th consolidated into one brigade for greater efficiency, and thereafter reported to General Crook, and moved and fought under his direction during the Appomattox engagements. On the 28th of March its effective strength was fifty-four officers and sixteen hundred and twenty-nine men. It comprised the 1st Maryland, 5th and 14th Pennsylvania regiments, District of Columbia battalion, and Company G. of 20th New York Cavalry.

Colonel Andrew W. Evans, 5th Penn. Cavalry, in his report says that his whole regiment was dismounted and first took position "directly upon the south side of the high road from Appomattox Court House to Lynchburg about one mile and one half distance from the former place."

Col. Stratton, commanding the 11th Penn. Cavalry, said: "We moved out of the main road from Appomattox Court House to Lynchburg, about a mile westerly from the Court House, this regiment having the advance" (meaning of the brigade).

A Confederate cavalry regiment charged between Mackenzie's Brigade and Smith's

Brigade, there being an unavoidable interval when the Fourth Penn. Cavalry of Col. Young's Brigade came to the rescue, countercharged, and after quite a mêlée captured the colors of the Confederate regiment.

To the foregoing reports of Crook's Brigade Commanders an extract is made from the report of General Gibbs, commanding a Brigade in General Devin's (1st Division). General Gibbs, referring to his Sunday morning (April 9th) fight, says:

"The Fifth United States Cavalry (Regulars) were sent in mounted and down a road on the left (i. e. on the left of Devin's Division) in their front, but were met by a brigade of the enemy's infantry, and retired with a loss of four men. The Brigade was then mounted and ordered to charge on the right of Genl. Custer's command, which was done in rapid style; but on arriving at the extreme right I was informed that a flag of truce of surrender had passed between our lines, and hostilities were ordered to be suspended."

Here is the brief story of the famous First Vermont Cavalry for that morning, as told in the official report dated 16th April, 1865, of its commander, Lieut.-Colonel J. Hall:

"We moved out early toward the enemy; charged to the left of the enemy's line capturing several prisoners and horses, losing two men wounded and several horses killed; were charging the enemy when the order came to stop firing."

Col. John J. Coppinger, commanding 15th New York Cavalry, a regiment in 2d (Brigade of) Custer's Division in his report of same date says:

"April 9, at about 8 A. M. came near railroad and moved with the Third Cavalry Division upon a line almost parallel with the enemy's line for a distance of about one mile and a half, part of this time under fire of the enemy's artillery, to a point opposite and near Appomattox Court House, when a flag of truce of the enemy made its appearance in front of our column, which soon returned to the enemy's line after having a conference with Major-General Custer. A skirmish with Hampton's Cavalry on the right now took place; we drove the enemy. Our loss on the morning of the 9th was one killed and three wounded."

THE FIRST MAINE CAVALRY.

But the regiment of all others in the Cavalry meriting its place in this narrative is the

famous First Maine Cavalry. It was a part of Smith's (3d) Brigade, which, as is clear from the foregoing reports, bore the brunt in opening the battle early Sunday morning. This regiment being armed with repeating carbines and composed of most reliable men and officers was frequently selected, as on this occasion, for exceptionally important duty. Its operations furnish a key to the Union battle up to the arrival of the infantry. In place of reproducing here an extract from the contemporaneous official report of its commander, what he said ten years later before his surviving soldiers is sufficiently contemporaneous, and reliable, as well as picturesque and interesting, to be quoted among the regimental narratives of Sunday morning's Appomattox.

General Jonathan P. Cilley, Lieut.-Colonel commanding the First Maine Cavalry, at Appomattox, writing an article under date of September 15th, 1875, referring to participation in the movement in the darkness towards Appomattox, on the Lynchburg and Appomattox pike—the operations so graphically described from the Confederate side by the report of General Pendleton, as above quoted—says:

The Brigade (Smith's of Crook's Division) moved "rapidly at first, but slowly as the hour of midnight drew near and the rebel pickets drew bead on us. Back and still back we pressed them, till our brigade, far from all support at the time, lay on the brow of Clover Hill, before Appomattox Court House, on the road on which, if he advanced at all, Lee must come out in the morning. The rebel pickets fired briskly at this point, but stopped as our advance halted. The hour was one o'clock in the morning, April ninth. We came dismounted, front into line with the First Maine on the left of the road and the rest of the brigade on the right, and one regiment in reserve. Behind a slight barrier of rails, without blankets, in the cold damp air of April, we waited for morning and General Lee's army. A line of dismounted videttes was thrown out in our front to give warning of approaching danger. Knowing the difficulty of placing such a line in the darkness, I personally attended to posting them, and when done a desire pressed me * * * to learn something of the force in front. I advanced in front of the line, and stooping to prevent my body being seen against the line of the horizon, for I knew not how near the rebel videttes might be, I

crept forward well, as far as I dared. I sat on the ground and listened to the rebel teamsters in the valley below parking their wagons, with oaths and imprecations savoring of tired horses and wearied, angry men. I thought of the morning, and of what our small force could do to keep back the rebel hosts in front, not knowing that our infantry were marching all night to take post in our rear. * * * *

The hour before daybreak and at daylight is always the hour of danger and sudden attacks. But Lee's forces, tired and sleepy that morning, did not awake early, and the section of artillery accompanying us moved to the brow of the hill and caused them to open their eyes that pleasant Sunday morning by dropping shot and shell into the middle of their camp. * * * As far as we were concerned we could see nothing of any force prepared or placed to support us. It seemed as if we were alone, and the army of Lee in our front. When the skirmishers and advance came in view, never did the enemy more sluggishly come forward. Their line extended beyond ours by twice its length, but our carbines held them in check till they commenced to lapse round our brigade on the right and left; and sharp firing in front

told us the heavy effort made to clear this road of its cavalry curtain.

Slowly they rolled us back. We received and we inflicted loss. In ten short days, of which this was the end, our regiment lost in *killed and wounded one-third of its men and one half of its officers*. We were too sleepy to move rapidly. We were too cross to be shoved by bullets. Back from the wooded crest of Clover Hill; back over an open field and a little rise; back down a long sloping incline straightening our line at its foot by the aid of a rail fence, and with our men in hand we charged up the incline or hill, to be driven again back, and losing one of our battery guns at its foot. Back up a long rise of ground, covered with woods at the top—and the curtain of cavalry covering the last scene of the rebellion was rolled fully up and back, and before the astonished vision of the rebel force stood Griffin with the Fifth, and Ord with the Twenty-fourth Corps. *A colored division of the latter stepped into the place of our regiment*. All night long had they marched, but how refreshing the sight of their black countenances at this time. At the spectacle the rebel host staggered back and their whole line wavered, as if each particular man was terror-struck. The curtain fell on four years fight-

ing." (Tobie's First Maine Cavalry History, p. 437.)

ARMY OF THE JAMES.

Turning now from the Cavalry to the Twenty-fourth Corps of Ord's Army of the James, here is the official narrative of its commander at Appomattox, Major-General Gibbon, followed by the narrative of Genl. R. S. Foster, who commanded its leading division that so opportunely arrived for the support of Crook's scattered regiments, which had been slowly and necessarily withdrawing before the infantry attacks of Gordon; and vainly seeking at the same time to thwart the escape of Lee's cavalry columns that would not stop to engage in the battle.

General Gibbon says, under date of April 24th, 1865:

"At 5 A. M. on the 8th, the corps started up the Lynchburg road after Sheridan's cavalry and followed by the Fifth Corps. The troops, learning of the presence of the enemy before them, and that the cavalry needed assistance, pushed forward with a will, marched until nearly 12 o'clock, dropped down alongside the road for a three hours' sleep, and were again under way at 3, cheering at the sound of the locomotive captured by Sheridan.

By General Ord's direction I was to throw my forces across the road leading from Appomattox Court House to Lynchburg. As we approached the designated point the firing, which at first appeared to be merely that of a skirmish line, rapidly increased and neared the road upon which my troops were moving. Foster was moved up at a double quick, formed across the road, and his line pushed forward at once with as much rapidity as was permissible by the retreating bodies of cavalry. In the meantime the firing seemed to gain so rapidly toward our right that I deemed it best to face Turner to the right and push him forward on Foster's right, instead of throwing him on his left, as originally intended, to check the advance of the enemy. These maneuvers were rapidly performed, and as soon as our infantry opened fire the enemy fell back, and on our reaching the cleared ground in sight of the Court House information was received that negotiations were going on for the surrender of Lee's army and that hostilities had ceased."

General R. S. Foster, commanding the First Division of the 24th Corps, and which had marched thirty-two miles on April eighth, says:

“ At 3 A. M. on the 9th the division moved forward in the advance; at daylight a short halt was made for coffee, when, the cavalry becoming engaged, we moved forward rapidly to their support, *the last half mile being made at double-quick, we arriving at the Lynchburg road just as the cavalry were retreating in confusion.* By my directions Colonel Osborn, First Brigade, formed this command in line of battle on the right of the Lynchburg road with the greatest promptness, although broken up three times by the led horses of the cavalry, and, in pursuance of orders from the major-general commanding, advanced his line without support and with both flanks exposed; his men went forward with the greatest enthusiasm, checking the enemy and forcing them back. In the meantime Colonel Dandy's (Third) Brigade and Colonel Fairchild's (Fourth) Brigade were hurried forward and formed—the Third Brigade on the left of the First, and the Fourth in echelon in support of the First Brigade. The Eighth Maine, of the Fourth Brigade, was pushed forward on the right of the First Brigade, capturing one gun. At this time I experienced considerable inconvenience in consequence of the conflicting orders given to my artillery by the chief of artillery of the corps,

he detaining Elder's battery, which I had ordered into a position, when it would have been of service to me had it gone up in time. *As my line advanced the enemy continued retreating. Receiving constant information that the enemy were moving to my left, I took the Fourth Brigade from the support of the First and put it on the left and gradually shoved with my whole line in that direction until, just as I reached the Bent Creek road, I received information of a cessation of hostilities, which resulted in the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia. Doubleday's brigade while moving in the rear of the column was attacked in flank and obliged to form a line of battle parallel with the road and drive the enemy back, which they did and joined the command near the Bent Creek road. Elder's battery was placed in position about half a mile from the Bent Creek road and fired a few shots at the retreating enemy.*

I do not consider it egotistical to say, *to this division is due the credit of preventing the enemy from gaining possession of the Lynchburg road (their only line of retreat), and of being among those who struck the last blow against the Army of Northern Virginia."*

THE FIGHTING.

It emphasizes the character of the Appomattox Battle to recur to the foregoing reports of some of the commands actually engaged.

A further illustration is afforded by the reports of losses where they are capable of being specially laid to the Sunday morning battle, which is rarely possible. Thus in the brigade commanded by Col. Thomas O. Osborne, 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 24th Corps, the 19th Pennsylvania lost 5 killed and 20 wounded; the 39th Illinois 1 officer and 6 men wounded; the 67th Ohio 1 killed and 6 wounded; the 62d Ohio 18 men wounded and 2 officers and 38 men *captured*. Lieut. Fred T. Mason, an aide of Col. Dandy commanding the 3d Brigade in same Division, was wounded and Lieut.-Col. Hill of the 11th Maine being wounded and at the rear was nevertheless there captured; but after rifling him of his personal effects he was allowed to return to his own lines.

The battlefield was extensive; and, as the reports show, numerous small combats occurred upon it in different places and at about the same hour. A gun of one of Sheridan's regular batteries was stalled and lost in a temporary disaster. At another spot by some

mistakes of directions a detached gun got on a wrong road, and was overrun by escaping Confederate cavalry.

There were many accidents of battle; but in all places and everywhere the superb conduct of the Union officers of every grade stood out in grand leadership; and no soldiers ever responded more zealously than the Union rank and file.

Gordon's assaults did temporarily break the Union left center; but the final halting of this column as it sought triumphant exit from the field of battle out to Lynchburg, on the famous Lynchburg Pike, was one of the most unexpected and picturesque incidents of the whole war.

It was a silent moment in the battle that until then had raged back and forth, trending steadily in favor of the Confederate purpose. The silence was followed by the "short, sharp and decisive" collisions with the newly arrived Union forces; by a panorama foreboding the greatest cavalry charge in modern war; and by the flags of truce that averted it. The tide of battle turned when the troops of the 24th Corps and of the Fifth Corps began firing.

It is impossible to conceive that Lee, awaiting Grant at a selected spot quite distant from

the place where his morning attack was to be made in accordance with his own orders, was ignorant of these doings, and of their inevitable significance. It is impossible to imagine that General Lee did not design and order the methodical and concerted performances of his own troops.

If he ever ordered the first flag of truce of that morning there is no evidence of such an order. There is no evidence that he attempted to recall his escaping cavalry.

The truce was itself the last resort, and only resort except death or capture of his able and gallant subordinates; it was the outcome of the morning's battle. The truce was finally in due form asked for by General Lee himself.

The marches and fight on that day and on the night of the *eighth*, made the battle and the victory possible on the *ninth*.

Of Lee's cavalry generals, as we have seen, Rosser and Munford were not to be found at Appomattox on the afternoon of the ninth.

Among the Lees, General Custis Lee had been captured April 6th at the battle of Sailor's Creek; W. H. F. Lee surrendered at Appomattox; and Fitzhugh Lee, commanding all the Confederate Cavalry at Appomattox, escaped thence with a good part of his command

on the surrender morning. Three days afterward, with five of his staff, he surrendered to General Meade, as the latter writes in reporting movements of the Sixth and Second Corps after the surrender. This is General Meade's letter:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, BURKEVILLE, April 12, 1865, 4.15 P. M.

Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant: In accordance with your instructions, the Sixth and Second Corps were yesterday put en route for this place. The Sixth will reach here to-day and the Second to-morrow. Last evening at Farmville Maj.-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, of the Confederate Army, with five officers of his staff, surrendered themselves to me, and were by my directions sent to report to Major-General Gibbon at Appomattox Court House. Major-General Lee stated that on hearing of the surrender of the Confederate Army he ordered his command to disperse and return to their homes, and came in himself.

GEO. G. MEADE,
Major-General."

The day after the surrender General Grant telegraphed to Secretary Stanton the following reply message:

“PROSPECT STATION,
April 10, 1865, 9.05 P. M.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.: The surrender was only of the men left with the pursued army at the time of surrender. All prisoners captured in battle previous to the surrender stand same as other prisoners of war, and those who had escaped and were detached at the time are not included. I think, however, there will be no difficulty now in bringing in on the terms voluntarily given to General Lee all the fragments of the Army of Northern Virginia, and it may be the army under Johnston also. I wish Hancock would try it with Mosby.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General.”

Here is the surrender agreement as signed by the commissioners designated respectively by Grant and Lee:

“APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA.,
April 10, 1865.

Agreement entered this day in regard to the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia to the United States authorities.

1st. The troops shall march by brigades and detachments to a designated point, stack their arms, deposit their flags, sabers, pistols,

etc., and from thence march to their homes under charge of their officers, superintended by their respective division and corps commanders, officers retaining their side arms, and the authorized number of private horses.

2d. All public horses and public property of all kinds to be turned over to staff officers designated by the United States authorities.

3d. Such transportation as may be agreed upon as may be necessary for the transportation of the private baggage of officers will be allowed to accompany the officers, to be turned over at the end of the trip to the nearest U. S. quartermasters, receipts being taken for same.

4th. Couriers and mounted men of the artillery and cavalry, whose horses are their own private property, will be allowed to retain them.

5th. The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces operating with that army on the 8th instant, the date of commencement of negotiation for surrender, except such bodies of cavalry as actually made their escape previous to the surrender, and except also such pieces of artillery as were more than twenty miles from Appomattox Court House at the time of surrender on the 9th instant. John

Gibbon, Major-General of Volunteers; Chas. Griffin, Brev. Maj.-Genl. U. S. Vols.; W. Merritt, Brevet Major-General; J. Longstreet, Lieutenant-General; J. B. Gordon, Major-General; W. N. Pendleton, Brig.-General and Chief of Artillery."

Finally here is a copy of the "Pass" given by General Grant to General Lee:

" APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA., April 10, 1865.

All officers commanding posts, pickets, or detachments will pass General R. E. Lee through their lines north or south on presentation of this pass. General Lee will be permitted to visit Richmond at any time unless otherwise ordered by competent authority, and every facility for his doing so will be given by officers of the U. S. Army to whom this may be presented.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General.

* Note from page 413:

General Custer, on April 9th, 1865, issued a congratulatory order to his troops in which he used the following language. "The record established by your indomitable courage is unparalleled in the annals of war. Your prowess has won for you even the respect and admiration of your enemies. During the past six months, although in most instances confronted by superior numbers, you have captured from the enemy in open battle, one hundred and eleven pieces of artillery, sixty-five battle flags, and upwards of ten thousand prisoners of war, including seven general officers, within the past ten days; included in the above, you captured forty-six pieces artillery, and thirty-seven battle flags. You have never lost a gun, never lost a color, and have never been defeated, and, notwithstanding the numerous engagements in which you have borne a prominent part, including those memorable battles in the Shenandoah, you have captured every piece of artillery the enemy has dared to open on you."

APPENDIX I.

In the pamphlet hereinbefore mentioned by "ANCHOR," (General John Watts de Peyster) entitled "LA ROYALE, (Part VIII, amended Edition) *The Last Twenty-four Hours of the Army of Northern Virginia*," etc., etc., etc., published 1885, is found an interesting discussion relating to events narrated in some of the foregoing chapters. Its author's introduction and explanatory remarks are quoted in part in the foot-note to Chapter VIII, page 166, of this volume.

Respecting *The Last Twenty-four Hours of the Army of Northern Virginia* its author says :

LA ROYALE!

[Fanfare, or Call on the Hunting Horn, sounded when the Hounds arouse and attack a "Stag of Ten" Antlers.] Part VIII. "The 'tolls were set,' and the 'Stag of Ten' was to die at bay." ("Pickett's Men." 156.) [Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1872, by J. WATTS DE PEYSTER, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, Washington, D. C.]

REMARKS, INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY.

As soon as the "Great American Conflict" had terminated and our "Boys in Blue" commenced returning home, the writer lost no time in beginning

to collect and jot down information in regard to the terrible struggle of four years. In the seven years ensuing, the mass of memoranda, manuscripts, etc.—such as letters, statements and reports—gradually accumulated, until they constituted a huge mass of crude facts for historical mastication and digestion. In addition to this, shelf after shelf became loaded with valuable publications, such as the “Rebellion Record;” likewise with so-called Histories, Regimental Biographies, Biographies proper, etc., some of which, in their hundreds of pages, have no other value than to establish or corroborate a single fact.

All these, all this had to be melted in the crucible of critical examination by the fire of patient labor, to draw off from the black fusion and repulsive scoriæ the bright and precious metal of truth:—Truth which is intended to constitute the biography of the “Glorious Old Fighting Third Corps,” which is, in fact, the history of the Army of the Potomac, since some of the constituents of the Third Corps participated in the first battle of Bull Run and witnessed the surrender at Appomattox Court House—four years of war such as the world had never yet witnessed; crowned with a triumph such as no such a period of conflict had ever yet achieved; rewarded with a victory greater and more decisive than had ever yet been won by force of arms.

As one of the noblest of living historians, Scherr, remarks: “The youthful might of Trans-Atlantic Democracy had fought out, in four years, a gigantic conflict for human development, which servile Europe could not have accomplished in an hundred years” by all the internal and external arguments of its states-craftmen and standing armies, written

with steel, in blood, upon the ashes and ruins of civilization.

In order to reduce the accretion of manuscript and print into manageable shape, the writer published a series of works and pamphlets which enabled him to survey his route, construct his road-bed and gather together materials for the superstructure.

His "Personal and Military History of Major-General Philip Kearney;" his "Decisive Conflicts;" his "Third Corps at Gettysburg;" his "Fredericksburg," "Chancellorsville," and "Gettysburg," in Captain Mayne Reid's magazine *Onward*, serve as bridges across deep gulfs. Other minor articles in *Onward*, in other magazines, in weeklies such as the *Ledger*, *Volunteer*, *Era*, and in daily papers such as the *Daily Times*, the *Evening Mail*, etc., were tramways for the transport of filling.

His uninterrupted series of articles—besides previous sporadic biographical sketches, etc., in the *New York Citizen*, commencing 20th August, 1870, and running on continually for a period of nineteen months, to the 23d March, 1872,—constitute a temporary roadway, whose sharp curves, in any event, must be shortened, even if the majority is not wholly rebuilt.

The pamphlet, "La Royale, Part VIII.," is the station house and structure at the terminus, which will serve every purpose until the permanent track is relaid. It may take years to finish up this work, but the passengers or readers can now make their four years' journey, rough or smooth as it may prove, with a complete understanding what the ultimate result will be.

The publications which have already appeared

have met, with the highest approbation of experts and competent judges. They will carry all the weight that can be imposed upon them, for they are laid on the rock of conscientious investigation, and have been set up with painstaking labor, without a single bolt headed with prejudice or nutted with personal bias. Where the timbers are only scored or rough hewn, it is because the architect did not deem it worth while to waste time in trimming them; where they are planed and ornamented, it was because it was due to the beauty of their surroundings, their utility and the situation.

No traveller across the continent ever heard the whistle announcing the end of the journey attained with greater gladness than the author, in penning the closing tribute to Major-General A. A. Humphreys, last commander of the glorious old Fighting Third Corps, which never lost nor permitted any man or men to deprive it of its identity when combined with the Second Corps.

To this great soldier, eminent engineer, admirable chief of staff and unsurpassed general, in every command intrusted to him, he was indebted for invaluable assistance, and who actually corrected and annotated the original edition from which this was printed; likewise, for many courtesies, to Major-General E. D. Townsend, Adj.-Gen. U. S. A.; likewise to Major-Generals Mott and McAllister, U. S. V.; and likewise to Brevet Colonel W. H. Paine, "the Pathfinder" of the Army of the Potomac.

But to cite by name all who have lent him their aid would require too much space.

* * * * *

The pamphlet following this introductory is as follows :

LA ROYALE !

The Last Twenty-Four Hours of the Army of Northern Virginia.

BAYING THE STAG OF TEN.

In my history of the Last Campaign, or Hunt of the Army of the Potomac, the narrative of the events and details was brought down (in "La Royale," Part VII.) to the afternoon of the 8th of April. The last article was set up for the *Citizen* of 30th March, 1872, but that weekly had already ceased to exist with its last issue of March 16th.

Under these circumstances, a paragraph is necessary to demonstrate the relative positions of the Union and Rebel forces on the afternoon of that day. The Army of Northern Virginia, in round numbers—including infantry, artillery and cavalry, also the special services—about 80,000 strong, was falling back, retreating, or flying, as the phrase pleases best or is most suitable, on the Richmond and Lynchburg Plank Road and Turnpike towards Appomattox Court House. It reached this point between after sundown of the 8th and some time before daybreak of the 9th, Gordon leading with the Rebel Second Corps; Longstreet with the main body and the rear, comprising his own, the First and the Third (A. P. Hill's) Corps. The latter after Hill's death before Petersburg, had no corps-commander, but was combined (?) with Longstreet's.

Immediately on the heels of Field's Rebel Division, constituting the rearguard, followed Humphreys with the combined Second-Third Corps of the Army

of the Potomac, clinging to it, harassing it, skirmishing with it, deaf to all Lee's cajoleries to let up the pressure.

A few miles behind, closing up to the preceding, came the Sixth (Wright's) Corps.

Away to the southward, from ten or twelve or even more miles distant, the Fifth (formerly Warren's) Corps, Army of the Potomac, and the Twenty-fourth Corps, two divisions, and one division of the Twenty-fifth Corps—these last two belonging to the Army of the James—were marching westward in support of Sheridan, who, with the cavalry out loose, was spurring towards the setting-sun—at once the sinking orb of day, of the tempest-period of internecine war and of the "Slaveholders' Rebellion"—to head off Lee at Appomattox Court House. Between the Fifth, the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Corps, and the Cavalry and the combined Second-Third and the Sixth Corps, flowed the Appomattox and its numerous affluents, destitute of bridges.

Thus Humphreys, with the combined Second-Third Corps, at this time about 12,000 effectives, was the Union general and troops pegging at Lee and "slam-banging" into the Army of Northern Virginia, proper, as they alone had been—since Humphreys discovered the actual route of the Rebel retreat—on the 6th, 7th and 8th April.

Thus (8th April) the pursuit was kept up by the indefatigable Humphreys. At 5 P. M., 8th April, according to his dispatch to Webb, Chief of Staff, Army of the Potomac, he had learned from the country people, and from prisoners picked up, that the rear of the enemy's infantry was about four

miles ahead of him ; their cavalry less. At this hour—5 P. M.—Wright informs Webb, that the head of his column—Sixth Corps—has reached Curdsville, about eight miles N. N. W. of Farmville, on the Plank Road. He was still seven miles from New Store where he encamped that night, which point (New Store) Humphreys had attained—still pushing on, however—in the course of the afternoon. At New Store the Rebel cavalry were again in sight of the combined Second-Third Corps, which was, indeed, “close upon them.” As 6.30 P. M. Humphreys’ First and Second Divisions (old Second) were two miles beyond the hamlet styled “New Store,” which is twelve (fifteen ?) miles, if not more, from Cumberland Church—the scene of the Army of Northern Virginia’s last stricken field—by the route they had followed. Humphreys’ Third Division (old Third Corps) was about one-third of a mile in rear of his other two. His men had marched seventeen miles this day, but his advance had been retarded by the failure of his trains to keep up with his troops.

Humphreys was ordered to “push on to-night (8th, 5h. 45m. P. M.) so as to be in the presence of the enemy,” and be “up to him.” At 6.55 P. M. he was still “pushing on.” Although the men were somewhat exhausted by the want of their rations, Humphreys “moved forward with the First and Second Divisions (old Second) on the night of the 8th before their trains of rations got up. The Third Division’s (old Third) train got up on the evening of the 8th, and Humphreys left it at the ground where overtaken, to get its rations and follow on afterwards.”

Humphreys’ leading (First) division commander, Miles, had, at this hour, just reported that the enemy

were encamped on the first high ground in front of him, and Humphreys, as usual, on fire at the announcement, had ordered Miles to push forward his skirmishers and feel them, to try and find out from prisoners what force he actually had opposed to him. (Rossel, Renseignments, 112, 119.)

At this point it is necessary to correct an erroneous statement in a previous portion of Part VII. of this work, "LA ROYALE." The second communication from Lee to Grant (fourth sent and received) was not received through Humphreys until he had halted at dusk two miles west of (beyond) New Store.

At 8.35 P. M. General Meade, through Webb, ordered Humphreys to encamp. He "did not intend to require a night march." Meade then adds the highest commendation from a superior to an inferior: "You have done ALL, in getting up to the enemy."

At 9 P. M. Meade follows up the foregoing with the order :

"The Second [combined Second-Third] and Sixth Corps will move at 5 A. M. to-morrow and the Second [combined Second-Third] Corps will attack the enemy [now in its front] at once, the Sixth Corps supporting."

The relative positions of the headquarters on the night of the 8th-9th were as follows :

Lieutenant-General Grant and Meade on the Lynchburg Stage Road near Curdsville, about seven miles W. N. W. of Cumberland Church.

Wright (Sixth Corps) at New Store, seven miles further to W. N. W., at the junction of the Lynchburg Plank Road and the Pike.

Humphreys (combined Second-Third Corps) about

seven miles farther on W. at Rain's on the now combined roads.

At dusk Humphreys was skirmishing with the Rebel rearguard ; but it would seem as if Lee's troops kept steadily on all night, leaving a small force to cover their movements. Gordon's corps leading, had struck a better road about midday of the 8th and made rapid progress till dark (Captain [Confederate] J. C. Gorman (P. 27), when the head of the column had reached Appomattox Court House and the rear was within four miles. (Gorman is evidently all wrong here, for he says, just after it, that Gordon's corps was aroused and moved hurriedly at 2 o'clock A. M. of the 9th. When they reached Appomattox Court House they found their [Confederate] cavalry confronting Custer's cavalry.) These troops went into camp early in the evening ; the bands of the divisions enlivened the departing hours of the day with martial music and were applauded with the usual cheers of the troops. Before dark all had partaken of their food. This proves that the Rebels were not as destitute of food as has been represented, and the bands must have had considerable strength to play after such a march. In fact, the same authority, Captain Gorman, says, in his " Lee's Last Campaign," that in the vicinity of Farmville, on the morning of the 7th, the haversacks of many of the men were replenished for the first time since leaving Petersburg. It has been previously established by Humphreys, de Trobriand and others that the country between Jetersville and Appomattox Court House was by no means destitute, or even, to appearance, short of provisions. " The old spirit seemed to be returning." " We had begun to con-

gratulate ourselves that the pursuit was over and felt sure that we would make the trip to Lynchburg, which was only twenty-four miles off."

BUT—"before we had completed our meal the rumbling of distant cannonading sounded warningly in front." * * * * *

"The fact was, that the enemy's cavalry, in heavy force at Appomattox, had disputed our advance—had cut off a train of wagons and artillery."

This same cannonading to which the Confederate Captain Gorman alludes, had been heard at Humphreys' halting place in the early part of the night.

The distant "diapason of the cannonade" broke in sullenly upon the ears of the combined Second-Third Corps about dusk on the evening of the 8th. This cannonade was many miles away, perhaps nine or even more miles off to the southwest and was the bellowing of Sheridan's horse-batteries, engaging with the thirty Rebel guns and upwards, covering the desperate effort to break through "the Circle of the Hunt," making, and about to be made, in greater force, by the Rebel General Walker, with the leading divisions or brigades of Gordon's command.

Thus the Union and Rebel troops were sinking down into their bivouacs or seeking their camping grounds to the portentous echoes of those "fire-throats," whose hoarse roar and duller echoes were for the last time reverberating amid the Blue Hills of ancient Virginia and breaking the early slumbers of the rebellious but now completely conquered dwellers in the Old Dominion.

* * * * *

As some changes took place during the night, it is of interest to every reader to learn the relative posi-

tions of the Rebel and Union forces on the morning of the 9th. As is well known, Sheridan's cavalry had struck the enemy on the evening of the 8th, at Appomattox Station and captured four large trains of cars and a number of wagons and twenty-four guns.

* * * * *

Custer reports that the last train was guarded by about two divisions of Rebel infantry, with over thirty pieces of artillery, all under command of Major-General Walker, of the Third Division of Gordon's [Rebel Second] Corps. The main attack occurred about 9 P. M. The fighting was not over until between 9 and 10 P. M., when the Rebels fell back rapidly upon Appomattox Court House. The Union cavalry bivouacked for the night, in close vicinity to this centre, where daylight of the 9th found them ready and eager for the work of the *SUMMA DIES*—"the day of decision" for Rebeldom.

The Fifth Corps, following the Twenty-fourth Corps, bivouacked about 2 A. M. of the 9th, within two miles of Appomattox Court House. It moved again at 4 A. M. and about 6 A. M. reached General Sheridan's headquarters nearer the Court House and maneuvered into position so as to support the cavalry who soon needed this backing. (Compare Extracts from the Infantry and Cavalry Reports in the *Citizen*, of the 16th and 23d Dec. 1871.)

The two corps, or portions of the one, the Twenty-fourth, and a division of the Second, Twenty-fifth, composing the Army of the James, after having been, as reported, on the march from daylight of the 8th till 10 A. M. on the 9th April, except three hours, were deployed across the outlet, through

which Gordon, with Lee's advance, was making his desperate attempt to escape, and were "barely in time." Ord intimates that Gordon would have succeeded, "in spite of Sheridan's attempt to hold him,"—"our cavalry were falling back in confusion before Lee's infantry,"—had not our "Blue Coats" developed their lines behind our horsemen. This was to the south and southwest of Appomattox Court House, or Clover Hill, although the writer has seen the latter designation given to an eminence in close vicinity to the left flank of Humphreys' front. Cavalry Devin would seem to indicate still another position for Clover Hill. (Bates, History of Pennsylvania, Vol. II, 706.) See his Report, V., *Citizen*, 28d Dec., 1871.)*

* (This "*Blending*," or "masking" of artillery and infantry with cavalry is by no means novel. It is impossible to fix any date when artillery, sufficiently light to accompany the movements of cavalry, was brought into the field, but a French work, "*Curiosités Militaires*," pp. 170-172, says that the novel and prompt manner of employing artillery *masked* by cavalry was the idea of Charles Brise, a Norman naval artilleryman, and it was utilized by Henry IV, in 1589, in one of the engagements near Arques. The "*Journal of the Military Service Institution*," for September, 1885, states that the introduction of Horse Artillery, in the French service, was due to Lafayette after a visit to Prussia; but it has been asserted that his first suggestions and efforts in this direction were made after his return from service under Washington. and I have seen a picture which leads me to believe that the supposition of his getting the idea in America is correct. What is more, the Spaniards, during the Dutch War for Independence, were accustomed to mask the presence of artillery by *blindages* of the other arms, and I have seen an account of cavalry drawn aside, exactly as at Appomattox Court House, to reveal the startling and decisive presence of infantry. The fact is, such a manœuvre has been practiced again and again, with the same satisfactory and startling results, on a variety of occasions. ANCHOR.)

Meanwhile the mass of Lee's army, under Longstreet, was entrenched across the Lynchburg Plank Road and Pike, about three to four miles N. W. of Appomattox Court House. Their left, fronting east, was in some woods which fed the head waters of Devil's Creek, their right on Wolf's Creek. Their centre was for a short space at New Hope Church. This, if significant, was but very short-lived, as much so as their stand there. It was afterwards within Humphreys' lines.

Colonel Paine says "Wolf Creek Church or New Hope Church," a curious association of names, unless the New Hope came in after the wolves were cleared out.

Longstreet's or Lee's headquarters was in a house at a locality known as Pleasant Retreat, certainly the least indicative of the actual condition of Rebel affairs which well could be imagined.

According to Col. M. W. Burns, 78d N. Y. V., Longstreet's own headquarters were in the first small house on the combined plank road and pike inside the Rebel lines, designated Pleasant Retreat.

According to a letter from an officer of high rank and the clearest observation, the troops in front of Humphreys were as follows: "On the Confederate right of the road, came first Heth's division, then Wilcox's, then Mahone's. (Heth's First, Second and Third Divisions—all Third, Rebel, Corps.) On the Confederate left of the road, came first Pickett's remnant (800), then Field's division, then Humphreys' (of Mississippi) division, (formerly Ker-shaw's)." L. I., 3.

At 9 A. M. April 9th, Humphreys informed Meade that the head of his column had gone into camp at

midnight. At 11 A. M. he reported that the head of his Third Division (Old Third) had not been able to reach the halting place till 4 A. M. of the same morning. As the train with two days' rations followed this division, the delay in their distribution must have retarded forward movements till 8 A. M.; likewise the fact of Humphreys' "push-forward" during the night, from the camp which Meade, 8.35 P. M. 8th (D. B. 5, 46, 27), had ordered him to occupy, but from which he advanced at 8 P. M. 8th (D. B. 5, 51, 30). About 6 A. M. of the 9th the supply train was up and rations were at once distributed (7, 4, 72), so that when Humphreys did move on again, he writes: "My men are marching finely, the effect of the rations." This shows that our men, as well as the rebels, were fatigued, indeed, almost fagged out and faint, from want of food. One of the officers on this pursuit said he did not eat for forty-eight hours.

Humphreys was pressing Field's division, *which had resumed its last march in retreat at midnight of the 8th.* (This is taken from information I (Humphreys) obtained and sent in a dispatch to Meade—but it is in conflict with what Gorman says.) It will be remembered that Field commanded a division, four or five thousand strong, to the very last. It was the Second of the Rebel First (Longstreet's) Corps.

How could this be if Gorman is right: "Gordon's Corps was aroused at 2 o'clock, morning of the 9th," &c., &c.

Immediately in front, that is, leading Field's, were Wilcox's (Second) and Heth's (First) divisions of the Rebel Third (prior April 8d, A. P. Hill's) Corps; Mahone with the Third Division of the same corps

was in front of these two corps and already entrenching in the last defensive position occupied by the Army of Northern Virginia.

Besides the troops thus indicated, Longstreet had with him the remnant of Pickett's Division and the remains of Kershaw's (or Mississippi Humphreys') Third Division of Longstreet's own Rebel First Corps.

The nearest Union troops to Lee's main force, at this time, were undoubtedly those of Humphreys. The Sixth, following the combined Second-Third Corps, was not in close support, till near noon of the 9th. This is shown by Webb's dispatch, 10.30 A. M., in which he tells Humphreys, "General Wright is ordered to pass your train and to push up."

Readers may have supposed that in the presentation of this history, incidents have been invested with rose-colored tints to render A. A. Humphreys' conduct more conspicuous. So far from this being the case, the narrative is a sober statement of clear facts: "You will see in my report (A. A. H.) that when on the 6th April I discovered Lee in retreat and had opened artillery on him, and had directed a brigade of Mott's to feel him, I reported what I had seen and done to General Meade, and then made all the dispositions to cross the whole corps at Amelia Springs to attack Lee, so that when the direction from Meade came, I was ready, and moved at once across the [Flat] creek. From that time forward, until late on the 8th April, my movements and operations were directed solely by myself, as it was proper they should be." It has been shown that Grant and Lee's correspondence on the 7th and 8th passed through Humphreys' lines, under the escort

of his staff officers. It will now be seen that this continued to be the case on the 9th, until Grant, by a detour, had left the direct route followed by Humphreys, and had passed around to the vicinity of Appomattox Court House, which, about midday on the 9th, was on neutral ground, between the picket lines, when the flags of truce were passing.

This is not intended to detract in the least from General Sheridan's activity, but neither he nor his troopers were in direct contact with the Army of Northern Virginia *proper*, after the fights of the evening of the 6th, with the exception of Crook's repulse on the 7th, until the evening of the 8th and the morning of the 9th, and then only with Lee's advance under Gordon (comprising the divisions in whole or in part of Early's old Army of the Shenandoah) ; Humphreys still confronting Lee's main force under Longstreet.

In the *Citizen*, March 23d, 1872, the first four notes of the 7th and 8th April were presented, with the circumstances of their transmittal and delivery.

When Grant wrote his third communication to Lee (Note 5 [Official War Records, Vol. 46, Part 1, p. 57]) he was at his camp for the night of the 8th-9th at Curdsville, rather nearer New Store than Cumberland Church, and two-thirds of the way from Farmville to New Store. This communication was brought to Major-General Humphreys while on the march on the morning of the 9th. The bearer of it was Major Chas. E. Pease, A. A. G., Headquarters Army of the Potomac. He it was (A. A. H., 6, 9, '71) who took General Lee's letter (Note 6) to General Grant, after it had been brought in by Colonel Whittier to Humphreys, on the march, between 10 and 11 A. M.

(9th), as is narrated by that officer in his own letter, yet to be quoted at length. Whittier delivered Note 6 to General Meade, and Meade sent it by Major Pease to General Grant, overtaking the latter about five miles from Appomattox Court House [11. 50 A. M. (Cannon, 446). Midway between Ker's Church and Appomattox Court House (Greeley, ii. 744)]. General Grant at once opened and read the letter, and his reply thereto is Note 7.

The same staff officer of Lee, who was the bearer of Note 6, subsequently brought two successive messages from Lee to Humphreys, urging the latter to halt his troops and not press on the Confederate forces—messages which Humphreys, with whom war meant fighting, rejected and paid no heed to, just as a good soldier should always do and should have done.

Lee was "on the picket line" in front of Humphreys when he received Grant's third note (5), and while he wrote his third communication (Note 6) on the morning of the 9th April. The circumstances attending its delivery are narrated at length by Col. C. A. Whittier—(in April, 1865, A. A. G. on the staff of Maj.-Gen. A. A. Humphreys, commanding the combined Second-Third Corps)—as will appear from the following extracts from his letter, dated Boston, 8th August, 1871.

[General Whittier belongs to Boston, went out in the 20th Massachusetts Volunteers—"the crack regiment" from that State; in the summer of 1862 became an aide to Sedgwick, then commanding the Second Division, Second Corps, Army of the Potomac; remained with the general until he was killed, going with him as Major A. D. C. when Sedgwick

was assigned to the command of the Sixth Corps, in the winter of 1862-63. From this (Sixth Corps) he came to Humphreys, in the winter of 1864-65, and remained with him to the last. (A. A. H. 30, 3, 72)].

"On the next morning, the 8th April, General Williams rode up, and, as he was going out on our front with a flag of truce, I accompanied him, each of us having an orderly. We were fired upon, and General Williams' orderly (behind us) was shot in the leg; the letter was delivered to one of Fitzhugh Lee's staff officers, General Williams saying that these letters or this communication was in no way to interfere with the operations then being conducted. At noon of the same day (the 8th) it was announced to us that the enemy was showing a flag of truce. I was sent by you (A. A. H.) to meet it. I met one of Fitzhugh Lee's staff, whose inquiry was whether the flag, before sent, was to affect, in any way, impending operations. As I had already heard this thing provided for by General Williams, I answered, without communicating with higher authorities, in the negative. (It was at this time I sent a regiment to protect our trains of supplies coming up in the rear [12½ P. M., 8, 4, 65], A. A. H.)

"The same night (as I remember, though I can't at all remember any letter from the enemy being brought in—we were bivouacking at the time in woods just at dusk and the men eating and resting) I was sent by you to General Meade's headquarters—a ride of two or three hours—and delivered a note to General Meade and waited for him to go to General Grant. I started back to you about midnight with no answer, I think. The corps had moved. I over-

took you about daylight * * * took a nap, from which I was awakened by you * * * You said that as I had gone out with the other flags, you would like me to take this one, unless I was too much fatigued—(this letter must have been Note 5). I started out and at last I met a person (chief of General Lee's couriers, so he said), who asked me if I had a letter for General Lee. 'Yes,' I replied. 'I will take it,' said he. 'Pardon,' said I, 'but I must deliver it to a commissioned officer.' 'We will meet one if we ride on a short distance.'

"We soon met Colonel Marshall, of General Lee's staff, who took the letter and asked me to ride up the road with him. We soon met General Lee, who read the note brought by me and commenced dictating (to Colonel Marshall) an answer.

"Heavy firing in the direction of Appomattox was then heard, and a Confederate officer (with but one arm) of fine appearance, well mounted, etc., rode rapidly towards us; after speaking with General Lee, the latter, apparently, hurriedly finished his letter (Note 6. I suppose), which was handed to me by Colonel Marshall, who said, 'Please say to General Grant, that General Lee came here expecting to meet him—that he (General Lee) understood that all movements were to be suspended *—that he is just informed that a heavy engagement is taking place at Appomattox and he would like to know when and where he can meet General Grant!'"

"I at once reported back to you, thence to General Meade. General Grant had gone across country to Appomattox Court House. I returned to you. Later—at about noon—General Meade sent a note (which I think only stated that General Grant had

* See page 339, Chap. XIII., Report of Fitzhugh Lee.

gone to Appomattox Court House) ; this I started with and soon came in sight of the enemy in their last ditch—the pickets saw me—my flag was a large one. They fired upon me—(*en passant*, I'd like here to make this claim—that the last hostile bullet fired by the Army of Northern Virginia was at me.) (Combined Second-Third Corps.) I dismounted; being told after a short interval to advance, I met an officer who called himself Lieutenant Lamar of Georgia, or Alabama; to my indignant protest at being fired on (stating that General Williams' orderly had been wounded on the preceding day), Lieutenant Lamar replied, '*I have no instructions not to fire upon the flags of truce.*' — ! me-thought, but said nothing.

"Our line was then formed for an advance upon the enemy in position, and in five minutes, at least, a conflict would have commenced. * * * General Meade joined us at about this time and a suspension of hostilities for an hour, either through his or some one else's agency, was ordered. At the expiration of the hour, an advance was directed, and, as we were in close proximity to the enemy's line, we were met by Forsyth of General Sheridan's, Marshall of General Lee's staff and one or two others, who announced an extension of the truce."

The reader will perceive from the wording of Note 6 [the third from Lee in response to the third from Grant, (Tenney, 696, 2)], that Lee must have been "on the (Rebel) picket line," which our Humphreys' moving or "all alive, oh!" skirmish line was pressing or feeling to all the time. He was there on the morning of the 9th of April, asking for and awaiting an interview with General Grant, to ascertain def-

initely the terms of surrender offered by our Lieutenant-General. This was between 10 and 11 o'clock A. M. Lee remained there, close to the officer of his staff, by whom he sent urgent requests to Humphreys for the latter to halt; this was as late an hour as 11 o'clock A. M. This is all-sufficient evidence that, while Sheridan and Ord were discussing matters, preliminary to a truce, with the Rebel Lieutenant-General Longstreet and Major-General Gordon, as related by "A Staff Officer," in "With General Sheridan," Major-General Humphreys was in direct communication with General Lee.

Lieutenant-General Grant, however, after writing his first letter (Note 5) to Lee, on the morning of the 9th, had ridden across by Walker's Church towards Appomattox Court House. Before reaching the Court House, and while yet five or six miles from it, the messenger sent by Humphreys, Major Pease, overtook him with Lee's letter (Note 6), which was written immediately in Humphreys' front.

As a "Staff Officer" inserts a copy of the same letter (Note 6), originally sent to Grant by Major Pease, and states that General Longstreet was at Appomattox Court House about the hour mentioned, and that he (Longstreet) bore a dispatch from Lee to Grant, this dispatch must have been a duplicate of the communication (Note 6) sent first to Humphreys, and by him sent to his rear by Major Pease, and thence to Lieutenant-General Grant. This must be the letter referred to in the dispatch of Major-General Meade of 10 A. M., 9th April, in which he mentions an answer from himself to Lee, recapitulating Grant's terms, and advises an interview with the Rebel general. Meade was at this time on

Humphreys' route, and his language not only confirms Humphreys' claim, but seems to clear up the matter beyond a doubt.

All this time Lee was in Humphreys' front, repeatedly urging the halting of the latter's troops, to which Humphreys did not feel authorized to accede.

About a mile beyond the last flag of truce, and about fifteen or twenty minutes after Humphreys had ordered Lee's staff officer out of his way, and just as Humphreys was about opening fire upon Lee, General Meade came up, and, having received a communication from Lee, assented to a truce.

Meade's communication to Lee (dated Headquarters, Army of the Potomac, 9th April, 1865) is the first mention of his knowledge of any cessation of hostilities between Ord and any portion of Lee's command. As Meade was on Humphreys' front it is important to note the time, 12 M., and the information of Ord's truce with Longstreet was brought to Meade by General Forsyth, of Sheridan's staff, and was undoubtedly received by Meade within half an hour after it was granted by Ord and Sheridan.

This may all seem unimportant, but it establishes several facts. First, where Lee was while Ord, Sheridan, Longstreet and Gordon were treating—i.e. in front of Humphreys. Second, that Grant had not yet reached Appomattox Court House to receive, there, the last letter of Lee (Note 6) which passed through Humphreys—that is, the last letter of Lee before Grant and Lee were communicating with each other directly, at first with the lips (Notes 8 and 9) and then with the pen—at the Court House, at which time the retreat and pursuit, the attack and defense, the fighting was all over. To make it perfectly clear,

Notes 8 and 9 followed the personal interview between Grant and Lee, and *simply put on record* what had been agreed upon. Grant's own report establishes this curious fact. Third, that while hostilities were still ablaze, so to speak, all communications between Grant and Lee passed through Humphreys, because Humphreys with the combined Second-Third Corps was the nearest to Lee all the time and the most persistently pressing him.

Note 6, as several times stated, was the last which passed between Grant and Lee through Humphreys. The next (Note 7) is not to be found in all the histories of the war, but is given by Tenney, 696 (?). It undoubtedly passed through Sheridan's lines, as has always been admitted in these articles.

Col. Newhall, in his "With General Sheridan, etc.," must refer to this note (No. 7) at page 216, confounding it with Note 6, which was delivered at 11.30, when the subordinate Union and Rebel generals were already in conference at Appomattox Court House.

Grant was at the time, as stated therein, four miles W. of Walker's Church, that, is still six to eight miles, by the road, east of Appomattox Court House. This was some time before Note 8 from Grant to Lee, and Note 9, in response, were written. Grant says, in his own report (Reb. Rec., XI. 357), "The interview (between Grant and Lee) was held at Appomattox Court House, the *result* of which is set forth in the following correspondence" (Notes 8 and 9). [The capitulation was signed 3.30 P.M. (A. and N. J., 11, 545—².)]

Grant and Lee, however, *had not yet met*. A cavalry officer ("A Volunteer Cavalryman") mentioned that he had heard at the time, that Lee's last

note passed through Whittaker of Custer's staff, a name which might have easily been confounded with that of Whittier, Humphreys' staff officer.

It would be very interesting and in some respects profitable to get Lee's own account of his whereabouts at different hours—a time-table of his movements—during this 9th of April and the five, particularly the three—6th, 7th and 8th April—preceding days.

Lieutenant-General Grant, when he wrote his fourth communication (No. 7), at 11.50 A.M. of the 9th—to impress the fact—was four miles west of Walker's Church and still about eight or ten miles east of Appomattox Court House. This Walker's Church is on a road running south from New Store—near which place Humphreys received Note 4 from Lee to Grant—through Planterstown by Cut Banks Ford (mentioned in his report by cavalry General Devin, *Citizen*, 23, 12, '71), to the south of the Appomattox. and stands near the junction of this road with another east and west, about the same course as that river, eventually leading to Appomattox Court House. These roads Grant took on the morning of the 9th.

To close up the whole matter of the correspondence, so as not to have to refer to it again, two last communications (Nos. 8, from Grant to Lee, and 9, from Lee in return) can scarcely be considered as written pending hostilities. They were written *after* Grant and Lee's personal interview. Grant's last (No. 8) is headed "Appomattox Court House" (no hour); but at 12 M. Meade, in a note to Lee, mentions that he had sanctioned a cessation of hostilities that had been agreed on between Ord and Lee's command,

which suspension Meade extended for two hours, *i. e.* to 2 P. M. Lee's fourth and last note (Note 9) is headed: "Headquarters Army Northern Virginia." Lee was then at or near Appomattox Court House, and it is supposed that his headquarters were wherever he was. Undoubtedly, judging from concurrent circumstances, the last two notes of Grant and Lee (5th of Grant, 4th of Lee) were written at the same place. According to the *Army and Navy Journal*, II., 545 [2], "Lee's Letter of Acceptance [Note 9?] was signed in the farm-house at Appomattox Court House, which will always be memorable as the place of surrender."

Having thus disposed of this matter, which is of more importance in its bearing than in itself, in establishing beyond question who was unceasingly nearest the enemy—*i. e.* Humphreys—the reader must now revert back to the antagonistic positions of Humphreys and Lee at the latter's "Pleasant Retreat." It has been so much the fashion to underestimate the number of troops at Lee's disposal on the morning of the 9th and depreciate their physical condition that a very false impression has been created, and would be perpetuated were no voice or pen uplifted in defence of the truth. That this underestimation and depreciation should be done by Rebel writers to lessen the humiliation of the catastrophe, is excusable, and would be almost commendable could the perversion of history be pardoned for any cause,

That, however, Northern writers, calling themselves Union, should minister to this delusion, is a sort of treason to the brave army which compelled the catastrophe.

While writing and running back through the past, how many cases occur where a defeated army abandoned or destroyed its arms, and an army about to capitulate concealed all that could prove trophies to the conquerors? European armies, the French especially, consider this course as commendable, as well as justifiable. After Aughrim, which decided the fate of Ireland, in 1691, the Irish army, which had fought with distinguished pertinacity and valor up to a certain moment, threw away their firelocks in such numbers that Ginkel, the victor, lowered the price of each musket turned in, to twopence. After Woerth, the French tore off and cast aside everything that impeded retreat. Moreover, it is considered the acme of Bazaine's disgrace that he surrendered all his material intact, to the minutest article.

Some of Napoleon's greatest successes were founded on deceptions. Among the notable, remark the stratagem by which Lannes and Murat and Belliard obtained possession of the Tabor bridge across the Danube, 18th November, 1805. The Russians are accused of a similar ruse to escape pursuit prior to, and towards, Austerlitz, which occasioned Napoleon's remark that, "if the Russian varnish is simply scratched off, the original Tartar will be found underneath." Even the upright (*Lebrecht*) Blücher is averred to have resorted to such "a very questionable military stratagem to secure his escape," after Jena, 1806, although this is another French story.

* * * * *

It is no criterion to judge of how many men under arms confronted Humphreys on the morning of the 9th, to cite those who actually stacked arms when

the surrender became a fact. In an European army the number of *men in uniform* would have formed a sure basis for calculating the magnitude of the force capitulating. But what was to determine this fact in an army whose costume realized the expression "un-uniformed troops?" This idea recalls Macaulay's remark that, when the Irish troops opposed to William's had laid aside their firelocks, there was no means of distinguishing between the pitiless combatant of one moment and the peaceful countryman of the next.

Histories range, as to the numbers surrendered by Lee, from 26,000 to over 28,000; Lossing figures out 26,000; Draper (who wrote under the best of auspices) states 27,805; Harper's History, generally very accurate, agrees with the preceding; Cannon (British) says 28,078 paroled, of whom 22,000 showed up on the 12th, the day of receiving certificates. The report of the Secretary of War sets down the number paroled at 27,805. Colonel Fletcher (British) reads 8,000 armed men and 18,000 too weak to carry their muskets. Maj.-Gen. A. S. Webb, Chief of Staff, Army of the Potomac, in this case one of the most competent of critics, discussing the surrender, asked, most pertinently, how it was possible to recognize a soldier, with no distinctive uniform, in a man whose only designative tokens of a soldier were in his arms and accoutrements, which he had thrown away on purpose; most likely in the hope of avoiding the responsibilities which their possession entailed.

One of the most observant of our major-generals and experienced division commanders, *who kept notes*, in discussing the matter, stated that he be-

lieved, if the truth could be discovered, that Lee had between 30,000 and 40,000 men of all sorts and descriptions with him at Appomattox Court House, but that, as soon as the surrender became a fixed fact, a large number "put for home," without standing on any of the ceremonies either of war or propriety.

The following examination will expose the fallacy hitherto received as fact:

In front of Humphreys, Mahone had just about 4,000 in a fighting condition and more than this number is claimed for Field's. With them were three other divisions. Is it possible—is it reasonable—that even half of these were unarmed? Besides these, Pickett's remnant. This accounts for many more than are stated to have stacked arms: men *occupying entrenched lines*, resisting and determined to resist. This will be shown by the testimony of three competent witnesses.

Humphreys saw these entrenchments. In a letter (6, 9, '71) he says that Major Pease [already referred to, who took Lee's letter (Note 6) through Humphreys to Grant and accompanied General Grant to Appomattox Court House], in returning to General Meade's headquarters [just after the surrender], passed through the enemy's lines. Their line, fronting Sheridan and Ord, he is understood to have reported, was not entrenched. "That facing the combined Second-Third Corps was entrenched fully breast-high, and had an abatis of felled trees in front. An opening had to be cut to enable him [Major Pease] to pass."

Col. M. W. Burns (73 N. Y. V.) went into Longstreet's lines about the time of the surrender. He is

very explicit as to what he saw. Some of the Rebel troops in front of Humphreys belonged to their Third, formerly A. P. Hill's Corps, and he thought that portions of their First [Longstreet] Corps were also on the same front, because Longstreet's headquarters were in the first small house bisecting the opposing positions—Pleasant Retreat, as before stated—inside of the Rebel lines. He was not able to furnish any data as to brigades and divisions, but was of opinion that one division in Humphreys' front was commanded by General Mahone. This is well known to have been the case. He judged, from what he could see, that there were about 10,000 men who had stacked arms along the road. They were entrenched, as far as he could discern, on each side of this road. They were about ten minutes walk from Humphreys' headquarters.

Colonel Fletcher [(British) III., iii., 212-219] who mainly (?) derived his information from Confederate sources, implies that the reason why Lee gave up at last was because Gordon announced "that he was being driven back." "He [Lee] perceived that Longstreet with difficulty held his ground against the force accumulating in his front"—Humphreys' combined Second-Third and Wright's Sixth Corps. This corroborates Burns as to where Longstreet was.

Now for Colonel Paine. In his diary, jotted down on the spot he says :

"Being near the enemy's pickets, I noticed they were gathering in knots, and seeing a negro come through their lines and towards us, I hailed him and asked him how he came to be allowed to come through. He said that they were not going to let him through, but he told them that 'Lee had done

gone surrendered,' and 'they began to talk to each other and he came on and left them, and some threw down their arms and went away,' he thought.

"I returned to ride up through the gap and by the squad of perplexed pickets, and on into their lines, where I found considerable confusion, enough to cover my movements. I let my horse walk, but did not stop, and, although spoken to, was not halted. I carefully noted the courses and distances in my memory, counting my horse's paces, and glancing at a small compass, passed along their lines of earthworks.

"Took a circuitous route back and through the same gap in the picket line, returned, and hastily sketched my work, so that I could designate positions that would enfilade their lines with artillery."

Right immediately within lines which Paine inspected, as he told the writer [7, 8, '71], *i. e.* within the earthworks in front of Humphreys—the Confederate troops were in good normal condition. Outside (*i. e.* beyond) these lines, back and around, many troops were in a broken-up condition, which showed that while some organizations were in good order, others were comparatively demoralized.

Col. Paine said (21, 8, '71), "Holding intrenchments in Humphreys' front and vicinity were more than 8,000 men seen by me, and I am a pretty good judge of numbers; and yet I did not examine this line to any considerable distance, as it was in timber. I was on Humphreys' front on the day of Lee's surrender."

Colonel Whittier, in his letter previously quoted (Boston, 8th Aug. 1871), is even more pointed than Barns or Paine. He says:

"Immediately after the surrender, in company with Colonel Rache, of General Meade's staff, I rode into the enemy's line. I remember Field's Division; can't call to mind the commanders of any others—the force was strong for the extent of the line; a breastwork of medium strength at the front for the pickets and two lines of stronger works in the rear—there being a continuous slight acclivity from their front to rear work.

"I thought at the time this position a pretty strong one against any front attack—it probably could have been easily turned—and they seemed to have troops at *that particular point* to impede us for a while." * * *

What "particular point?" "Yes, at the point where they could be turned (A. A. H.) there were Rebel troops (*en potence*) posted there to prevent their right from being flanked or taken in reverse."

Opposed to Sheridan were Gordon's troops, actually fighting till the last minute. Of these, Devin speaks as "the enemy advancing in two heavy lines of battle." Crook reports first a "very heavy line;" again, "a strong attack on my front and flanks with a large force of infantry, while their cavalry attacked my rear; again, "overwhelming numbers." Custer mentions "two divisions of infantry, in addition to over thirty pieces of artillery." Merritt corroborates Crook with the same words, "overwhelming numbers."

These are Union accounts. Cooke, the Southern historian and biographer of Lee, says, Gordon's "own force, less than 5,000 muskets," which certainly must mean between 4,000 and 5,000.

Add these to the force in front of Humphreys,

and we have double the number of those said to have surrendered in arms.

This aggregate, however, is not yet complete. Fitzhugh Lee and Rosser, with the Rebel cavalry, made their escape to the mountains (Fletcher, III., 518-19). Also, according to the author of "Pickett's Men" (172-3, 175), a battalion and battery of Pickett's Division got off to Lynchburg. Undoubtedly many others of all arms made their escape secretly when it was found that Lee was actually treating for a definite surrender. This they might have done without detection through the gap to the northward, which was unwatched by Grant's troops.

The writer can never be brought to believe that Lee had less than 25,000 veterans—infantry, cavalry and artillery—men tried and true, ready to execute his will down to the very minute when he signed the act of surrender—besides those who got off or stole off and very numerous stragglers.

And this is the estimate of men who fought it out to the last against the Army of Northern Virginia, generals who kept the run of every day's occurrences, men who never misrepresented, whose statements, however disputed at the time, have been borne out by after investigations and admissions.

Take the example of Humphreys' fight on the 5th February. His rough estimate of the force opposed to him, and its composition, was completely verified by Gordon's own admissions to Major-General McAllister; and yet subordinate Rebel officers claimed that Humphreys only fought brigades, where Gordon conceded divisions, with every chance in their favor. (Major-General McAllister's Statement, *Citizen*, 16, 9, 71.)

LA MORT! THE VALLEY OF JEZREEL!

"I am watching for the morning;
The night is long and dreary.
I have waited for the dawning
Till I am sad and weary."

"An end is come, the end is come; it watched for thee;
behold it is come. The morning is come unto thee." * * *
—EZEKIEL vii. 6, 7.

"And the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end
of the war desolations are determined."—DANIEL ix. 26.

In consequence of the difficulty of bringing forward the train with rations, it was eight o'clock, 9th April, 1865, before the combined Second-Third Corps resumed its advance. In fact, the troops had been in movement pretty much the whole night, striving to gain ground in spite of hindrances. Humphreys actually advanced five miles during the thick night, hoping to come up with the enemy; but finding his men falling out rapidly through fasting and fatigue, he was compelled to halt his First and Second Divisions about midnight. His Third, followed by the supply train, did not begin to arrive until about 4 A. M. (The [Third] Division was not up until 4 A. M., probably, and the supply train some considerable time later, perhaps 6 o'clock, or even later before it was *all* up.—A. A. H.) As soon as the rations could be issued the troops moved forward again with alacrity.

It is broad daylight by 5 A. M. at this time of the year, when the weather is clear, as the writer well knows, as he has often seen the morning break after a night spent in work upon this pamphlet. Colonel Paine notes in his diary that it was a "beautiful,

fine, pleasant Sabbath morning." Richardson (483) says it "was damp and foggy." This involves no contradiction, for there is often fog on the bottom-lands, when it is perfectly clear upon the ridges.
* * * As at Thrasimene !

All at once, three or four miles away to the front, a vigorous cannonade and interchanges of musketry, sounding to the experienced ear like a pin drawn sharply across the teeth of a comb, only a thousand times louder, in thunder-crashes, nigh at hand, and duller and more ominous when heard at a distance. Hearing this, every one shouted, "Sheridan is there ! bully for Sheridan !" As related in a previous chapter, the combined Second-Third Corps had sunk down in their first bivouacs (8th-9th) to the rough music of the same horse-batteries. So they shouted with knowledge. It was the last convulsion of the Rebel Army in its death throes ! its condition, what a contrast to the season, day, and weather, and the awakening Sabbath !

At 9 A. M. Humphreys notifies Webb : "The head of my column is now about (11) one and a half miles from the halting-place (during the night) and near to the rear of the enemy, according to the report of a negro who came from Lynchburg yesterday morning (Saturday, 8th April). Our troops were then three miles from Lynchburg. He passed through Appomattox Court House about sunset. The fighting there was then going on. It was resumed this morning and is still continuing. About daylight he passed the last of the enemy, and then lay in the woods some time, coming in to us when he thought it was safe. He was told as he passed through Lee's army that the troops would move again about mid-

night (8th-9th April). We are about (10) ten miles from Appomattox Court House."

Few questions caused greater trouble than the discovery of what Union troops this negro could have referred to. No applications to headquarters furnished any satisfactory clue; but on turning to the *Army and Navy Journal*, of the 22d April, 1865, it appears from Major-General Stoneman's report that it was a portion of his command. "Major Wagner, after striking the railroad at Big Lick, pushed on toward Lynchburg, destroying on his way the important bridges over the Big and Little Otter, and got to within four miles of Lynchburg." This is confirmed by Major-General Cullum in his "Biographical Register," II., 162, § 1304, wherein he states that Stoneman was engaged in the "Destruction of the Lynchburg and Bristol Railroad, April 3-7, 1865" (compare the "Last Ninety Days of the War," p. 197). This exactly corroborates the statement which the negro fugitive made to Humphreys.

At 11 A. M. the combined Second-Third Corps came up with the enemy's skirmishers, in front of the entrenched position, hereinbefore described. Up to this hour, if not an hour later, Lee had been in command in Humphreys' front. When news came to him that Gordon's attempt had failed, Lee mounted his horse and started for the rear, saying, "General Longstreet, I leave you in charge; I am going to hold a conference with General Grant." (Richardson, 483.)

Finding the Rebels in force, in defensible positions, and strongly entrenched, Humphreys made immediate dispositions for a fight, if fight there was

to be. They were as follows: Humphreys' right, his First (Miles') Division (old Second Corps), was *à cheval* (or astraddle) the Plank and Turnpike Road, with one brigade in line to the right or north of it, and one to the left or south of it, while the other brigade was in column to the north of the road, supporting Miles' right. The Second (Barlow's) Division (old Second Corps) on the left, was disposed in the same manner, having two brigades deployed in the front line and a third in reserve opposite the centre and the interval between them. His Third (de Trobriand's) Division (old Third Corps) also presented two brigades deployed in the front line, and one in support to the rear of the centre interval of the first line of battle of the corps.

Accordingly (says de Trobriand, II., 481) our division was massed to the right and left of the road. Half an hour afterwards the troops were notified that the truce had been prolonged up till 2 P. M. As the watch hands pointed to the hour of two the Old Third commenced to move forward again, but the First Brigade, wearing the Red Diamond Badge, or "patch," had not advanced a hundred yards when a new order directed it to halt. Before the Union troops stretched a thin curtain of wood. Beyond this an open space alone separated the "blue coats" from the "gray-backs" whose pickets remained perfectly quiet. This locality is known on the map which the writer has examined as Clover Hill. On pointing this out to Colonel Paine, he stated (21, 8, '71) that this name is applied to a cleared elevation to the left (*i. e. S.*) of Humphreys' front and somewhat in advance, *i. e. W.* of it—*i. e. S. W.* of Humphreys' left. Scarcely two maps agree as to the position of

"Clover Hill," and the Secretary of War's map makes Appomattox Court House and Clover Hill synonymous. (See Bates' History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers, ii., 706.)

If the map first cited and Brevet Col. W. H. Paine are correct, there is a curious significance in this. The official badge of the combined Second-Third Corps was a Trefoil, or Three-leaved Clover; and now it was the badge of a commander whom the Third Corps honors as honest, impartial, true; in every sense one of themselves. That which some of them might deny to his next two predecessors—to the first from one motive, to the second from another—all would willingly concede to Humphreys. There are many other curious unions of the two symbols, the Diamond of the Third and the Trefoil of the Second Corps. Napier, in his "History of Florence," alludes to one, and another might be cited. When the Medici, especially Giuliano, the real *Penseroso* of Michael Angelo, formed two companies of youths to associate these Florence youths in friendly [manly] games and exercises, he joined those wearing the badge "*il Diamante*" (the Diamond) and "*il Broncone*" (the Branch, or Trefoil). The last array in arms of the Trefoil or Three-leaved Clover (and the Diamond) was thus curiously made on the field on Lee's surrender, "Clover Hill," and in front of Lee's "peculiars" was the Diamond Badge. Diamonds were trumps!

It is another fact that Colonel Whittier, A. A. G. on Humphreys' staff, makes "this claim, that the last hostile bullet fired by the army of Northern Virginia was at me," an old combined Second-Third Corps man.

LA RETRAITE PRISE ! AD LEONEM !

Thus the organized and more or less disorganized constituents of Lee's command were completely enveloped. "The once proud array of the Army of Northern Virginia now presented this sorry spectacle," &c., &c. (Swinton, 619.) It is impossible to comprehend why Northern writers will seek to depreciate the number and condition of this Rebel Army, to lessen their own people's triumph, and glorify the enemy, as bitter and unforgiving in their enmity as ever. It has been herein stated that one of our major-generals present at the surrender calculated that Lee still had, on the 8th-9th April, from 30,000 to 40,000 men. Although this has been gone into quite fully on previous pages, the following calculations from Richardson's tables (491-493), "compiled from the official reports," are worthy of consideration. He says that Lee's "effective force, on the 20th March, 1865, must have been fully 70,000 men." Two chiefs of staff, Army of the Potomac, and one corps commander, all three agree about as to this estimate. Lee lost at Fort Steedman, 25th March, 2,788, and from the 29th of March to the 9th April, 18,979, together 21,762. This leaves 58,238. Of these, "Two brigades of his cavalry escaped before his surrender;" likewise, according to "Pickett's Men" (172-173, 175), a battalion, and certainly one battery of artillery, which got off to Lynchburg. How many more escaped? "No one familiar with armies in the field will need to be told that the number of stragglers on such a campaign must have been very large. Ten thousand men seems to be a moderate estimate for the stragglers and the two brigades

of cavalry. This leaves in round numbers 48,000 effectives. Concede 8,000 killed and wounded, and there remain 40,000. Still there is one element of strength which has not been credited to Lee. On abandoning Petersburg-Richmond, Lee dragged off with him every military organization, local or otherwise; so that our major-general, after all, may have been nearer the truth than any one else. But, taking the other view of the case and conceding that Lee had not over 8,000 to 10,000 men "up to the mark" in fighting condition, then no one possessed the right, in justice to the North, to accord the terms on the 9th, which were even too lenient for the 7th or even for the 8d April. Some men ought to have been made examples of, and, from the following extracts from the *Army and Navy Journal* [ii. 545 (2)], it would seem to the writer that the *Tribune*, in publishing the remarks in ¶ 2, must have held different views at that time from those since and at present held by its senior editor.

When, however, it was known how completely the enemy had been in our power, some of the troops were a little distressed at the magnanimity of the terms offered.

"An Associated Press dispatch of the 12th says:

(1) "The final arrangements for the surrender of Lee's army were completed yesterday, and to-day they are at liberty to proceed to their homes, or elsewhere, as they choose. The terms granted were certainly of a very liberal character. A large number of officers, together with thousands of the men of this army, express their dissatisfaction, not only at the unprecedented liberality granted to the Army of Northern Virginia, but at the manner in which they

were paroled and allowed to go their way, without our men being permitted to enjoy the results of their long struggle in the passage through the lines of General Lee and his army ; but it is claimed that this would have been humiliating to General Lee and his officers, and that it is not the wish or desire of our government or commanders to act toward them in any way that would tend to irritate their feelings or make their position more intolerable than it actually is. The policy pursued may have been for the best, and our soldiers will submit, as they always do, to what is judged most wise. During Sunday night and Monday large numbers of the Rebels, as well as some of the officers, made their escape from the lines and scattered through the woods, many no doubt intending to return home. Our camps last night were filled with them, ~~and~~ begging something to eat, which, of course, was freely given. These men, when asked if they had been paroled, invariably replied, " No ; but we are allowed to go where we please." ~~and~~

" A letter to the *Tribune* on the same subject says :

(2) " The intelligence that negotiations were pending on Saturday for the surrender of the enemy was hailed with joyful demonstrations by our men, but when the terms of the capitulation became known their feelings were those of disappointment and chagrin. Ewell, Pickett and several other officers of distinction, deserters from the United States service at the beginning of the war, it was claimed, had no right to expect the treatment accorded their more honorable brethren in Rebellion. ~~and~~ The brutal murder of the thirty-nine men hung by Pickett in North Carolina, is still remembered and still awakens

a spirit of resentment among the men. ~~At~~ No formal surrender took place, and our troops were consequently not gratified with a sight of the ragged remnants of Lee's once great and formidable army, except as they confronted each other in battle. Both armies lay hidden from each other, for the most part in dense woods, and although many of our men afterward straggled into the enemy's camps, they were not favored by the coveted glimpse of the whole strength of Lee massed in a compact body."

That the enemy were in the woods, is corroborated by Paine (21, 8, 71): "Humphreys' last stand was in a piece of open ground, the enemy were sheltered [as usual] in the timber!" "Before us," are de Trobriand's words (II., 382), "beyond a thin curtain of woods stretched an open space, which alone separated us from the enemy's pickets, which did not budge." This locality is styled "Clover Hill." The United States Engineer maps show dense woods in every direction in front of Humphreys.

For Lee's forces, however—were they more or less numerous—"the toils were set and the 'Stag of Ten' (La Royale!) was to die at bay." Stopped in front to their left by Sheridan's cavalry, *backed* by the infantry of the Army of the James, they were shut in upon their right or north flank by the Fifth Corps (see extracts from reports, *Citizen*, 16th and 23d December, 1871), with their rear closely pressed by the combined Second-Third Corps, supported by the Sixth Corps, which had gradually closed up and was now in contact, and finally brought to a stand by the obstacle of the Appomattox River, whose elbow put an effectual barrier on the W. and W. by N., the only possible avenue of escape [*Army*

and Navy Journal, ii. 569(8)] towards the goal of Lynchburg, now less than twenty-one miles distant in the same direction.

Gordon had received imperative orders to cut his way through (examine a curious coincidence, II. Kings, iii., 26) Sheridan's cavalry by a supreme effort of despair. He made his desperate dash, thinking he had only cavalry in his front. His attack was made with all the wonted Rebel fire. The cavalry, who had dismounted to arrest his plunge—like that of a bull upon a picador in the amphitheatre—had to give ground. Then our troopers were drawn aside like the front-sliding scene in a theatre, revealing the unexpected presence of our blue-coated infantry.*

[* There are numerous instances of this masking of infantry, the strength of an army, with cavalry, to delude and induce an attack. Cassius, in the Parthian War (*"Military Ends and Moral Means,"* 271, 272, &c.), having ranged his cavalry in a front line, with his infantry in a second line behind them; then, by the sudden retiring of his cavalry, drew the Parthians into the snare which he had prepared for them. At Wattignies, Jourdain masked the presence of field pieces with infantry. The footmen "skillfully wheeling back portions of their line to allow the light battery to fire" through the intervals thus opened. The Spaniards used such an identical maneuver in street fighting against the Hollanders in the sixteenth century; and Henry IV., in one of the combats preliminary to or near Arques, in 1599, employed a similar stratagem. Having masked two heavy coulevrines (16 pounders?) with cavalry, he invited a charge of the Chevalliers of the Duke de Mayenne, who, when they expected to encounter only horsemen, like themselves, were astonished to see the opposing ranks open and found themselves overwhelmed with an artillery fire. This new and prompt method of employing heavy artillery is said to have been the idea of a Norman naval gunner, named Charles Brise, who, after long service at sea, brought his varied experience to the aid of the King of Navarre. Anchor.]

* * * * *

The result was a perfect theatrical winding-up. It paralyzed the Rebels. They caved in at once! The end had come! Meanwhile Sheridan's troopers, with uplifted sabres, were only awaiting the trumpet-blast to spur in and drown out the Rebellion in its own best blood. Each horseman grasped his sabre with the determination of Custer, or of Alp in Byron's "Siege of Corinth."

* * * * *

Any one who takes a sufficient interest in the truth and will compare Paine's Field Map, as reduced in Harper's "History of the Great Rebellion," and several other narratives of the Union Civil War, will be convinced—despite all the mystification, intentional or unintentional, with which partial, interested or prejudiced pens have invested or involved the story—that Humphreys, with his combined Second-Third Corps, was the chief agent in the happy result of this festival. They it was, and his "tried and true," who all the time clung to Lee's army, proper, and while suffering as much, if not more, than any other corps or arm, so impeded his retreat by their very weight—as a sail towing behind a clipper frigate clogs her way and enables a duller squadron to overhaul her—and hourly harassed it, so as to enable the cavalry, the Fifth Corps, the Twenty-fourth Corps and Twenty-fifth Corps to finally head off the enemy at Appomattox Station and Court House.

* * * * *

Following Lee step by step, never losing trace of him, even if temporarily losing sight of him, hitting

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him, pressing him with bayonet in his reins; thus, for seventy-six hours, and a distance of sixty to seventy miles, Humphreys never let him slip away. Finally, where do we find Humphreys on the morning of the 9th April? At New Hope Church, near Appomattox Court House, confronting on this sunny—sunny in every point of view—Sabbath morning, the bone and sinew of the remaining organizations of Lee's old army. New Hope Church!—title of happy omen for us—"Devil's Creek," to the north, overcome and *passed* "by queer coincidence" of nomenclature—and "Pleasant Retreat!" about as inappropriate a term for Lee's situation at this time as well could be imagined. These he, Humphreys, now supported by Wright, held so tightly, pressed so closely, that Lee could not have strengthened Gordon to operate against the Fifth Corps, the Army of the James and the cavalry, however much he might have been so minded.

Without exaggeration, was there anything like Humphreys' prescient advance, persistent pressure, unrelaxing pursuit or incessant combat, exemplified on any other previous occasion during the war?

* * * * *

Why the popular mind has been so beclouded, and why the conspicuous merits of the man and his men have been so lost sight of, is one of those curious questions affecting the popular distribution of military credit in this country, that can only be explained by the willingness of the general public to accept the flowery in diction, and the superficial in examination, for the less elegant, but infinitely more precious results of investigation and close comparison of facts; which last are absolutely inseparable

from true military criticism and the enduring commentaries of war.

* * * * *

THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA SURRENDERED !

The white flag appeared ! General Grant received a message from Lee requesting an interview, which was granted, and the two generals repaired to the neat brick dwelling of William or Wilmer McLean, at Appomattox Court House.

The memorable interview between Generals Grant and Lee took place a little after 2 P. M., in the "town" of Appomattox Court House. The town, according to description, had little indeed to recommend it for the scene of so great an event as the pacification of a continent. It might boast, indeed, its public building, the Court House, but it consisted solely of one street, and one end of that was boarded up to keep the cattle out. Such was the little place upon which fame, for centuries to come, was suddenly thrust, this Sunday afternoon, 9th April, 1865. The best house in the street was lent for the occasion by its owner, Mr. Wilmer McLean. It is an old-fashioned structure, with a long verandah in its front and a flight of steps leading up to the entrance thereon. "Appomattox Court House boasted five dwellings. The largest—a square building of brick, with a yard smiling with roses, violets and daffodils—belonging to one Wilmer McLean."

Lossing states that this McLean resided in a dwelling on a portion of the first battlefield of the war, between the Confederate "Army of Northern Virginia," under Beauregard, and the Union "Army of North-eastern Virginia"—under the accomplished but unlucky McDowell—which was the nucleus or

embryo of the "Army of the Potomac." Beauregard had his headquarters in McLean's house, which was situated to the right or south of the Centreville road, about equidistant from Mitchell's, Blackburn's and McLean's Fords. McLean, having seen enough, as he thought, of war, removed to a spot whereto he was confident war could never come, but whither the fighting did come, after a lapse of three years and nearly nine months, in its circle of blood and fire. And now, on this bright Sunday, 9th April, 1865, his household gods were tottering to the roar of the same fire-throats which had shaken them on the other sultry battle Sabbath, 21st July, 1861.

If McLean had delved into the earliest English dramatists, he may have had lines of worthy Christopher Marlow on his lips :

"The northern borderers, seeing their houses burned,
* * * Run up and down cursing——"

the hour "he lent" his house, the "best on the street," "for the occasion"; for, if Richardson (484) is correct, he "was moving wildly about, nearly driven out of his senses by the great events of the day," and the subsequent forcible purchase of his furniture. (*Ibid.*, 485-6.)

This "circle of events" presents a curious coincidence, but more curious than many others which incontestably prove that there is no escaping *Schick-sal*, "the inevitable"—the "Fortune or Chance" of Catherine de Medici, Turenne and Suwarrow; the "chance or good luck" of the astute observer, Montaigne; the "lot" and "chance" of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; the "Fate" of the Romans and the Greeks;

the "Accident" of the scoffer and unbeliever; the "Providence" of the devout; but, in *very truth*, immutable (or 'unflexible') Law," the unalterable decree of the GOD OF BATTLES and the LORD OF HOSTS. As Sir Walter Scott observed: "Fortune will fly her flight, let man hallo himself hoarse." Indeed, it is true, "*Man denkt, Gott lenkt*," "Man proposes and God disposes;" or, as the Tuscan reads, "*Luomo tepe, ela Fortuna trama*," "Man sets the woof and Fortune throws the warp." This acknowledged fact runs through all time and teaching. Lord Kames says, "*a delusive sense of liberty* is wisely implanted in the mind of man, which fits him to fulfil the ends of action to better advantage than he could do, if he knew the *necessity* which really attends him."

Some of the names of the battlefields, even, are significant, and not the least so is the fact that this surrender occurred on Palm Sunday. Palm Sunday is the next before Easter, the beginning of the "Great Week," the "Holy Week," when the "Prince of Peace" made his triumphant entry into the "possession or inheritance of peace," for such is the translation of the word Jerusalem, the multitude strewing his path with branches. How appropriate the surrender on this Palm Sunday, 9th April, 1865, when a "chosen people," in arms, entered through the gate of victory into the possession of peace, which they had purchased with half a million of lives and an expenditure of money almost appalling in its aggregate of public outlay and private munificence.

As soon as General Grant accorded this meeting to Lee, an order was promulgated (Paine's Diary) suspending hostilities for an hour.

"Our skirmishers are within range of the rearguard of the enemy. The enemy has developed a picket line, which indicates a stand."

"Sunday, 9th April, 12.20. A cessation of hostilities, proposed by General Lee, was rejected by General Meade, who was still pressing on, when word came that a truce of one hour was granted by General Sheridan, to which General Meade submitted. General Forsythe came from General L—, through the enemy's lines, under a flag of truce."

It will be remembered that Colonel Paine was on Humphreys' front on the eventful day up to noon; Lee himself had been with the troops confronting the combined Second-Third Corps—all that remained of the Army of Northern Virginia, except Gordon's command, in contact with Sheridan, Ord and Griffin—nearly or fully up to the same hour, 12 M.

When, in the course of the morning (9th) Humphreys' troops began to overtake Lee, the Rebel general sent to Humphreys at least two earnest requests (verbal) by a staff officer and flag of truce, not to press forward upon him but to halt; that negotiations were going on for a surrender. Humphreys did not deem himself authorized to comply with Lee's request, since he had not received such informations and authority from General Meade or from General Grant as would sanction it, and so replied to General Lee, and continued to press forward. Humphreys was at the head of the column. When the request was made the last time, Lee's staff officer was very urgent, so urgent that Humphreys had to send him word twice that the request could not be complied with, and that he must withdraw from the ground at once. He was in full sight

on the road, a hundred yards distant from Humphreys. (The ground was wooded.) As soon as Humphreys' staff officer reached him, Humphreys himself began to ride forward. A mile beyond this, as the skirmishers of the combined Second-Third Corps, were closing in on Lee's—the Union troops being within fighting distance—Meade overtook Humphreys, and soon after informed him that a truce had been granted until a certain hour of the day. (2 P. M., *Reb. Rec.* XI., 643, 1.) At this time, according to Meade's report, the combined Second-Third Corps were within three miles of Appomattox Court House, to the eastward. Humphreys remained on the line of battle near the road with his staff about him, and as the hour for the termination of the truce approached, he took out his watch and held it in his hand. Exactly as the hands pointed to the hour of 2 P. M., Humphreys mounted and gave the order to advance; but his troops had scarcely moved "twenty paces," or "one hundred yards," when a message from General Meade informed him that the truce had been extended "until further orders," and he halted the corps in the position marked on the United States Engineer Map, "Appomattox Court House," close up against Lee. Before long the notice of the surrender of Lee was received, and he had to issue orders at once to the skirmishers, now become pickets, to prevent his officers and men from passing over into Lee's camps.

While the conditions of the surrender were under discussion, the troops became impatient, and impatience grew to a fever heat. The soldiers—who, as a rule, always saw farther than the run of the

leaders, whom policy, not propriety, had given them—deemed that the delay was only another Confederate stratagem to throw us off our guard; that underneath the color of treating, Lee intended to play us an Antietam trick. "Let us finish up the matter," they cried, "before night comes on again. If they do not intend to surrender, let us go in at once."

"Our troops were just commencing to advance again (reads Paine's Diary), when they were again halted by authority from General Grant. It was during this truce that General Lee surrendered, of which we were soon apprised (a memento of which I secured by tearing a strip from the lower edge of the white cloth which served as a flag of truce, which the bearer allowed to trail while he was resting, partially asleep). General Meade, not feeling well to-day, was in his carriage at the front, but was obliged to return on horseback, the road was so crowded with troops. An officer had just passed down the road announcing the surrender, as General Meade passed, followed by his staff; every one crowded forward, leaving scarcely room for the horses to pass, jeopardizing their lives and limbs, cheering, and making the most frantic demonstrations of joy."

All at once a tempest of hurrahs shivered the air along our front. "Lee has surrendered!" Without having actually distinguished the words, the whole Union army, present, comprehended their import. The wildest acclamations rolled like peals of thunder over the field, through the woods, along the road, echoed and re-echoed, prolonged in solemn mutterings of hurrahs among the trains which followed, at a distance, the Sixth Corps. Hats and

caps filled the air. The flags waved and saluted, unfurling to the caresses of the winds their tattered fragments, glorious attestations and relics of nearly four years of battle, of over a hundred first-class stricken fields—

“Flag of the brave ! thy folds shall fly,
The sign of Hope and TRIUMPH, high !”

“There shall thy Victor glances glow,
And cowering foes shall sink beneath
Each gallant arm that strikes below
The lovely Messenger of Death !”

and all the bands poured forth to heaven—which answered with the sympathetic smile of unclouded sunshine—their accompaniments of rejoicing, either in the lively notes of “Yankee Doodle” or the majestic strains of “Hail Columbia.”

“The wildest excitement prevailed (Paine’s Diary again) ; every one was cheering to the extent of his power. Every band was playing its loudest, drum corps vieing with each other, while artillery lent its aid. The very horses entered into the spirit of the occasion and pranced proudly. Flags waved, hats, haversacks and canteens were raised on muskets or thrown along the route of the general and staff. Trees and fences were climbed along the route, and in the most perilous positions were soldiers, and, even on horseback, officers were seen embracing each other in delirium of joy ; nor did this decrease in intensity until the General had passed through the whole line and gone to his camp, when the demonstration became less concentrated, but still

pervaded the whole army, and was lost only in the darkness of the night."

"On the evening of the 8th April and morning of the 9th," to quote a letter (29, 8, '71) of Lieutenant-Colonel Schoonover, commanding the 11th New Jersey Volunteers—"the air was full of rumors about the surrender of Lee and his army. Flags of truce had been passed back and forth. We were moving slowly along on the morning of the 9th, when the column was suddenly halted. This looked favorable and strengthened the reports wonderfully. Every one put on a significant look. The men took it for granted, and, as if they could not wait for the announcement of the news, shouts were heard on every side. How anxiously we waited and how eagerly we listened. We caught up everything. Nothing was too good nor too great. About noon it was known that the generals of the two armies were in conference and the result was impatiently awaited. About four o'clock in the afternoon General Meade and staff came in from the front. His Chief of Staff, General Webb, preceded him, and announced to the troops that lined the road on either side, that General Lee and his army had surrendered. It is useless to attempt to describe the scene that followed. The very ground seemed to shake with the cheers and yells of triumph that burst forth from that memorable field. A thousand hats went up at once. The men seemed almost wild with joy. General Meade and staff rode through the dense mass and imagination would now tell me that he was obscured from sight with the shouts of a thousand mouths and the waving and hurling of as many hats."

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"Officers and men grasped each other's hands in wild delight. The old war-worn and battle-stained colors seemed to wave expressions of joy. Our men gathered around General McAllister, who spoke to them amidst continuous cheers. America never saw such a scene before, and I never expect to witness another. That day the fate of the Rebellion was sealed, and the soldier knew and felt that the shot and shell from that army would never again sweep a comrade from their side. All who were there felt proud of it, and rejoiced that they had been participants in the grand closing scene."

The writer's "labor of love" is finished with the war, for the war terminated with the surrender of Lee. Every succeeding shot was nothing more than the distant and dying echoes of the thunderbolt which burst between the Appomattox and the James. There, as when the clouds first gathered, the rattle of the Third Corps musketry and the roar of their guns blent with the awful uproar which ushered in and which terminated the great American Conflict. Oh, glorious body of heroes! how grateful the duty of commemorating your achievements, which demonstrated in fire and attested in blood the truth of your claim of having ever been—

**"FIRST IN ATTACK, LAST IN RETREAT, THIRD ONLY
IN NAME!"**

About seven years [this was originally published in 1872] have elapsed since the last organized Confederate force submitted to the Union administration. Not only has Nature healed the scars inflicted by the struggle; not only has industry effaced the

damages occasioned by the most terrible engines of war; but even the bones of the fallen—whether washed out of their shallow graves by the rain, or thrown up by the frost, or uprooted by the beasts of prey—have disintegrated and dissolved, mingling with their kindred clay, until not a vestige remains of the sanguinary convulsions upon the various battlefields, moistened with the blood of hundreds of thousands of victims, and fattened with the corpses of half as many thousands of the slain. Under these circumstances, since nature, art and industry are so rapidly effacing every memento of our civil war, it behooves the government and the historian not to lose a single moment in their endeavors to rescue from the darkness of oblivion the achievements of those gallant men consigned to the gloom of the grave by their unselfish patriotism and voluntary immolation for the preservation of their country and its institutions.

As it has been observed by one of our most popular writers, Longfellow, in his “Gleam of Sunshine,”

“Let me review the scene,
And summon from the shadowy past
The forms that once had been.”

Even so, let the pen of the poet and the historian plant their own peculiar flowers over the tombs of the fallen, to grow, bud, blossom and flourish in amaranthine beauty and freshness, that their odor and charms may keep in everlasting remembrance the devotion and the glory of the illustrious dead, and perpetuate the remembrance of the living who emulated their virtues, partook of their labors, shared

their sufferings and participated in their dangers. Among these last the prominent figure in this little Memorial is the commander of the combined Second-Third Corps, MAJ.-GEN. ANDREW ATKINSON HUMPHREYS, the best soldier, according to the Greek understanding, of the War: "Thus everybody who commands a [large] force [of armed and disciplined] men, is indeed commonly called a *general*; yet, he who is able, in a crisis, to collect himself and see his way through, *he* is the REAL GENERAL; *the other is a mere general-officer.*"

Lecourbe, the faithful lieutenant of Masséna at Zurich, and of Moreau upon the Rhine, was "an incomparable *general*, at once an intrepid soldier and a highly enlightened *officer*, who united to a rare sagacity in regard to the knowledge of localities, very uncommon audacity and an admirable tact." How aptly these attestations apply to Humphreys, wonderful in his power of seeing what had to be done and in doing it promptly—a consummate handler of troops. Colonel Paine, "the PATHFINDER of the Army of the Potomac," who served beside and under Humphreys while the latter was chief of its staff, said a very handsome thing of his superior, in making the following analysis of his character, which tallies exactly with Dumas' estimate of the upright Lecourbe: "For general, as well as intimate, acquaintance with the country in which he [Humphreys] was operating, and the troops against whom he was engaged—in fact, the general relative situation of affairs—Humphreys was second to no other Union general. * * From his usual quiescent suavity he was metamorphosed into the impersonation of enthusiasm, in action."

[NOTE.—After the consolidation or combination of the Third Corps with the Second (one of the most flagrant injustices of the war) Birney's Division (First of the old Third, and now Third of the combined Second-Third Corps) headquarter flag was *white*, with a *red* (Kearny, *original*) diamond in the center. Mott's Division (Second of the old Third, and now Fourth of the combined Second-Third Corps) flag was *blue*, with a *white* (Hooker, *original*) diamond in the center. The flag of the consolidated divisions (First and Second of the Third Corps, and Third of the combined Second-Third Corps)—at the close of the war commanded by Mott, and finally by De Trobriand—was a swallowtail, blue, with, in the center, a combined red and white diamond; or a white diamond within a red diamond, to recall both the former First and Second Divisions (Kearny's and Hooker's) of the original old Third Corps. The inner diamond was white, upon a larger diamond red, so that the latter should show like a red border around the former; in the center of the inner, the white diamond, was a small blue trefoil, the badge of the Second Corps. This is the statement of Major-General Mott (4, 5, '72), correcting the previous description of his Aid, Captain Demarest, published as a note, in the *Citizen* of 17th February, 1872.]

APPENDIX II.

THE GRAND REVIEW.

The official orders upon which the Grand Review of May 23 and 24, 1865, was conducted are here reprinted from the Army and Navy Journal of May 27, 1865. The schedules were widely distributed throughout the country and in the hands of the multitude of spectators along the line of march. Following are the orders : they form a fitting and historical introductory to the oration in 1890 concerning it which is reproduced in Appendix III (*infra*.)

ORDER OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT.

Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, May 18th, 1865.

Special Orders, No. 539. (Extract).

6. A review, with marching salute, of the Army of the Potomac, the Army of the Tennessee, the Army of Georgia, and General Sheridan's Cavalry, will take place on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 23d and 24th instants.

On Tuesday, the 23d instant, will be reviewed the Army of the Potomac, General Sheridan's Cavalry and the Ninth Corps, all under the command of Major-General George G. Meade, commanding the Army of the Potomac.

On Wednesday, the 24th instant, will be reviewed the Army of the Tennessee, Major-General O. O. Howard, commanding, and the Army of Georgia,

Major-General H. W. Slocum, commanding, the whole under command of Major-General W. T. Sherman.

The following will be the order of march :— The head of column will, each day, rest on Maryland Avenue, at foot of Capitol Hill, moving at precisely 9 A. M., passing around the Capitol to Pennsylvania Avenue, thence up the Avenue to the Aqueduct Bridge, and across to their camp.

The troops will be without knapsacks, marching at company front, closed in mass, and at route step, except between Fifteenth Street and New York Avenue and Seventeenth street, where the cadence step will be observed.

Each brigade will be accompanied by six ambulances, passing three abreast.

The Reviewing Officer will be stationed in front of the President's House, where provisions will be made for members of the Cabinet, heads of Military and Civil Departments, and *Corps Diplomatique*.

The Ninth Army Corps, Major-General Parke, commanding, will report to Major-General Meade for the review.

Major-General C. C. Augur, commanding Department of Washington, will have the necessary guards posted in the streets along the route, keeping the street clear of all horsemen and carriages, except those of the proper officers, heads of Military and Civil Departments, or *Corps Diplomatique*, and such other arrangements as are necessary to facilitate the review.

By command of Lieutenant-General GRANT.

E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant-Adjutant-General.

Official: R. WILLIAMS, Assistant-Adjutant-General.

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

ORDER OF GENERAL MEADE.

Headquarters Army of the Potomac, May 20, 1865.
General Orders, No. 27.

In accordance with instructions received from headquarters, Armies of the United States, the Army of the Potomac will be passed in review through Washington City on Tuesday, 23d instant, in the following order, viz :—

1st. Headquarters, Army of the Potomac and escort.

2d Cavalry Corps, Major-General Merritt,* commanding.

3d. Provost-Marshall-General's Brigade, Brevet-Brigadier-General Macy, commanding.

4th. Engineer Brigade, Brigadier-General Benham, commanding.

5th. Ninth Corps, Major-General Parke, commanding, with Division of Tenth Corps, Brigadier-General Dwight, commanding.

6th. Fifth Corps, Brevet Major-General Griffin commanding.

7th. Second Corps, Major-General Humphreys, commanding.

The artillery of each Corps will follow its Corps, except that of the Second Corps, which will follow the leading Division of its Corps.

The Cavalry Corps will form on Maryland avenue, with the head of the column abreast of the northern entrance to the Capitol, prepared to move at precisely 9 o'clock A. M.

* See foot-note on subsequent page—explaining absence of Generals Sheridan and Crook.

The Ninth Corps will be marched across Long Bridge on the 22d instant, and will bivouac on ground east of the Capitol, to be designated to its commanding general. It will form on East Capitol street, the head of the column on First street east at 6 o'clock A. M., on the 23d instant, prepared to follow the cavalry.

At 4 o'clock A. M. of the 22d instant, the Fifth Corps will be put in motion, crossing Long Bridge and the canal bridge on Maryland avenue, will then move easterly sufficiently to countermarch, and to form on Pennsylvania avenue, with the head of the column on First street east, prepared to follow the Ninth Corps.

The Engineer Brigade, and the Provost-Marshal-General's Brigade, will bivouac on the evening of the 22d instant, near the Long Bridge, and moving over that and the canal bridge, on Maryland avenue, at 8.30 o'clock A. M. on the 23d instant, will take position on A street north, prepared to follow the cavalry.

The Second Corps will move at 7 o'clock A. M., on the 23d instant, and, crossing Long Bridge and the canal bridge on Maryland avenue, will form column on the streets of the Fifth ward, south of Pennsylvania avenue, prepared to follow the Fifth Corps on First street east.

The formation of the column will be as designated in Special Orders No. 239, current series, headquarters of the Army, Adjutant-General's office, May 18, 1865, by companies, closed in mass, with shortened intervals between regiments, brigades, and divisions. For the sake of uniformity, and to pass narrow portions of the street, the company front

will be, throughout the Army, twenty files—Brigade commanders will see that the regimental commanders adopt this formation. The number of commands must depend upon the number of men in the regiment. Each brigade of infantry will be accompanied by six ambulances passing three abreast.

Mounted officers will salute in passing the reviewing officer. The staff of the major-general commanding, after passing the reviewing officer, will be formed on the street to be hereafter designated. Corps commanders will direct their staff officers, after passing the reviewing officer to continue in lead of their respective corps, over the route hereinafter designated.

The cadence step will be taken from the Capitol until passing Seventeenth street. Arms will be carried at right shoulder-shift from the Capitol to the front of the State Department. After passing the reviewing officer and Seventeenth street, the cavalry, moving briskly, for six hundred or eight hundred yards, will proceed to the Circle, and thence through the street north to its camp. The Provost-Marshal-General's Brigade, the Engineer's Brigade, and the Fifth Corps will march via Bridge street, Georgetown, and the Aqueduct Bridge to Ball's Crossroads, and thence to their camps.

The Ninth and Second Corps will move across the Potomac via the pontoon bridge at the foot of High street, Georgetown, turning off at the Circle, through K street, and taking the lower road, past Arlington House, to Columbia Pike, will move to their camps.

Corps commanders will see that, after passing Seventeenth street, the gait be increased by regiments, and will take advantage of any of the side

streets to mass their commands or portions of them. Should the column moving past the reviewing officer be checked, they will employ their staff officers to prevent any recurrence of the kind, and will send officers in advance to examine well the ground near the bridges available for placing their corps in mass. When practicable, batteries will form battery front. The unarmed men of the several commands, and such men as may be excused from duty by the medical officers will constitute the guard to be left in camp.

By command of MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE.

GEO. D. RUGGLES, Assistant Adjutant-General.

ORDER OF MARCH.

Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac,
Monday, May 23d, 1865.

The following order, in column of corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments, for the review on the 23d instant, is published for general information, viz :—

HEADQUARTERS ARMY POTOMAC.

Major-General GEORGE G. MEADE, commanding.
General Staff.

Headquarters Escort—Squadron 1st Massachusetts cavalry, Captain E. A. FLINT, commanding.

CAVALRY CORPS.

Major-General MERRITT, commanding.
General Staff.

Headquarters Escort—5th U. S. cavalry, Lieut. URBAN, commanding.

THIRD CAVALRY DIVISION—Maj.-Gen. GEORGE A. CUSTER, commanding.

Second Brigade—Col. Wells, commanding: 15th New York cavalry, 8th New York cavalry, 1st Vermont cavalry.

Third Brigade—Col. Capehart, commanding: 2d West Virginia cavalry, 3d West Virginia cavalry, 1st West Virginia cavalry, 1st New York Light cavalry.

First Brigade—Col. Pennington, commanding: 2d New York cavalry, 1st Connecticut cavalry, 3d New York cavalry, 2d Ohio cavalry.

SECOND CAVALRY DIVISION—Brevet Maj.-Gen. HENRY E. DAVIES, commanding.*

First Brigade—Brevet Major-Gen. Davies, commanding: 10th New York cavalry, 24th New York cavalry, 1st New Jersey cavalry, 1st Pennsylvania cavalry.*

* This command, designated as "Second Cavalry Division," was the command of Major-General George Crook, who had embraced this opportunity to secure a short leave of absence, leaving his next in rank, General Davies, in command. The absence of its other two Brigades is accounted for by their detachment on important service before the Division left lower Virginia as stated in Chapter XI.

The Second Brigade, which after the battle at Farmville, April 7th, had been commanded by Colonel S. B. M. Young, who temporarily then succeeded Gen. J. Irwin Gregg, (captured), had been detached and sent towards Lynchburg, where subsequently General Gregg was placed in command of a specified territory, and instructed to restore order and industry among the inhabitants. This Brigade comprised the Fourth, Eighth, Sixteenth and Twenty-first Regiments of Pennsylvania Cavalry, which troops had been overseeing the Virginia counties of Amherst, Campbell and Appomattox, under the command of Colonel (now Lieutenant-General) Young.

The latter had arrested the Sheriff Hix, of Appomattox

FIRST CAVALRY DIVISION—Brig.-Gen. THOMAS DEVIN, commanding—

Reserve Brigade—Brig.-Gen. Alfred Gibbs, commanding : 6th New York cavalry, 2d Massachusetts cavalry, 6th Pennsylvania cavalry.

Second Brigade—Col. C. L. Fitzhugh, commanding : 6th New York cavalry, 1st New York dragoons, 20th Pennsylvania cavalry, 17th Pennsylvania cavalry, 9th New York cavalry.

First Brigade—Col. Peter Stagg, commanding : 6th Michigan cavalry, 7th Michigan cavalry, 1st Michigan cavalry, 5th Michigan cavalry.

Horse Artillery Brigade—Brevet Col. James M. Robertson, commanding : Battery C., 2d United

County, to whom had been confided the task of distributing among "deserving destitute inhabitants" abandoned property of the surrendered army. This Sheriff had exceeded his authority, and with an armed force of citizens and paroled prisoners "had seized horses" from what he termed "common people" and was giving them "to those that hitherto have been termed wealthy planters." The former organized a home force in self-defence, and conflicts ensued ; and also "considerable robbing by paroled prisoners and men who have never been paroled and who do not live in this state (Va.) together with some bounty jumpers from the U. S. Army." [Quoted from Official Report of Colonel Young, Vol. 46, Part III, page 1137, Off. Rec. War of Rebellion.]

The "Third Brigade" of the "Second Cavalry Division" comprised the following Regiments : the First Maine, Second New York Mounted Rifles, the Sixth Ohio and the Thirteenth Ohio. Its commander was Brevet Brigadier-General C. H. Smith. This command was left at Petersburg, May 9, and at the time of the review, was charged with duties, corresponding to those above described, in governing the section of country officially described as the "sub-District of Appomattox, consisting of the [Virginia] counties of Chesterfield, Amelia, Powhatan, Cumberland, and Buckingham," Genl. Smith commanding. Five com-

States artillery, Captain D. R. Ransom ; Battery R. and L., 2d United States artillery, Lieut. John M. McGillovay ; Battery L., 5th United States artillery, Lieut. W. F. Randolph ; Battery D, 2d United States artillery, Capt. F. B. Williston ; 6th New York Independent battery, Lieut. J. W. Wilson ; Battery M, 2d United States artillery, Lieut. C. A. Woodruff ; Battery C and E, 4th United States artillery, Capt. M. P. Miller.

panies of the Sixth Ohio were assigned to the Sub-District of neighborhood counties. See the apportionment of troops for the " District of the Nottoway, Headquarters at Petersburg " as described in its " General Orders No. 1, May 22d, 1865," as quoted at page 1198 of same [46] Volume, Part III, Official Rec. War Rebellion ; also *Ibid*, page 1213.

It need not be assumed that the absence of General Crook on leave at the time of the Review was occasioned in any degree by the diminution of the size of his Division ; for ranking next in line to General Sheridan, the latter's absence had left General Crook in command of all the cavalry. At " Black and White's Station, Va.," on the evening of May 1st, General Sheridan in departing issued orders for the march thence to Washington " under the direction of Major-General Crook " (*Ibid*, page 1061).

The effect of this order and his rank would have placed General Crook at the head of the Cavalry Column at the Great Review. To a trained soldier of Crook's disposition this honor offered no temptation, as against the opportunity to visit the lady who shortly became Mrs. Crook.

The entire State of Virginia about that time was divided into sub-districts ; and the District of Appomattox as above described was changed in name to the " District of Lynchburg," and also was enlarged to embrace the additional counties of Nelson, Bedford, Pittsylvania, Henry, Patrick and Franklin, and placed May 25th, 1865, under the command of Brevet Brigadier General J. Irwin Gregg. These dispositions explain the absence from the Great Review of many gallant and distinguished officers and the famous commands to which they were attached.

H. E. T.

NINTH CORPS.

Major General JOHN G. PARKE, commanding.

General Staff.

FIRST DIVISION—Brevet Major-General O. B. WILCOX, commanding.

First Brigade—Col. Samuel Harriman, commanding: 88th Wisconsin, Col. James Bentliff; 87th Michigan, Col. Charles Waite; 17th Michigan, Lieut. Col. John Green; 109th New York, Capt. Z. G. Gordon; 79th New York, Major A. D. Baird.

Provost-Marshal-General's Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. G. N. Macy, Provost Marshal-General, commanding: 2d Pennsylvania cavalry, Col. Sanders; 1st Massachusetts cavalry, Major Tewksbury; 8d United States infantry, Major Archer; 10th United States infantry, Capt. Hall.

Engineer Brigade—Brig. Gen. H. W. Benham, commanding: Battalion of Regular Engineers, Brevet Major Harwood, commanding: 15th New York Engineers, Col. Brainard, commanding: 50th New York Engineers, Brevet Col. Spaulding, commanding.

Second Brigade—Brevet Col. Ralph Ely, commanding: 1st Sharpshooters and 2d Michigan, Lieut.-Col. A. W. Nichols; 46th New York Veteran Volunteers, Lieut.-Col. Adolph Becker; 50th Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, Lieut.-Col. W. H. Telford; 20th Michigan, Lieut.-Col. C. A. Lounsbury; 60th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. M. P. Avery.

Third Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. N. B. McLaughlin, commanding: 8d Maryland Battery, Brevet Col. G. P. Robinson; 14th New York Heavy Artillery, Col. E. G. Marshall; 57th Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. G. M. Tucker; 59th Massachusetts, Capt. Frederick

Cochrane ; 100th Pennsylvania, Col. A. J. Maxwell.

SECOND DIVISION—Brig.-Gen. S. G. GRIFFIN, commanding.

First Brigade—Col. Sumner Carruth, commanding : 89th New York, Col. A. C. Wildrick ; 48th Pennsylvania, Col. J. F. Brannon ; 7th Rhode Island, Brevet Col. P. Daniels ; 45th Pennsylvania, Brevet Col. T. Gregg ; 58th Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Wheaton ; 86 Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. T. L. Barker ; 85th Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. John W. Hudson ; 51st New York, Col. J. G. Wright.

Second Brigade—Col. Herbert B. Titus, commanding : 11th New Hampshire, Col. Walter Harriman ; 56th Massachusetts, Col. S. M. Weld, Jr. ; 179th New York, Col. W. M. Gregg ; 17th Vermont, Col. T. V. Randall ; 31st Maine, Col. Daniel White ; 186th New York, Lieut.-Col. E. G. Marsh ; 2d Maryland, Lieut.-Col. B. F. Taylor ; 6th New Hampshire, Lieut.-Col. P. P. Bixby ; 9th New Hampshire, Major George H. Chandler.

THIRD DIVISION—Brevet Brig.-Gen. JOHN G. CURTIN, commanding.

First Brigade—Col. A. B. McCalmon, commanding : 51st Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, Col. Wm. J. Bolton ; 208th Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. M. T. Heintzelman ; 209th Pennsylvania, Col. T. B. Kaufman ; 200th Pennsylvania, Major Jacob Rehm.

Second Brigade—Col. J. A. Mathews, commanding : 207th Pennsylvania, Col. R. C. Cox ; 211th Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. Coulter ; 205th Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. W. F. Walter.

DWIGHT'S DIVISION—Nineteenth Army corps, Brig.-Gen. WM. DWIGHT, commanding.

First Brigade—Brig.-Gen. G. L. Beal, commanding: 15th Maine, Col. Isaac Dyer; 114th New York, Col. S. R. Per Lee; 29th Maine, Col. George H. Nye; 80th Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. N. Shardman; 1st Maine Battalion, Capt. C. S. Brown.

Second Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. E. P. Davis, commanding: 153d New York, Lieut.-Col. J. A. McLaughlin; 8th Vermont, Col. J. B. Mead; 12th Connecticut, Lieut.-Col. G. W. Lewis; 26th Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. W. H. Chapman; 47th Pennsylvania, Col. J. P. S. Gobin.

Third Brigade—Brig.-Gen. J. D. Fessenden, commanding: 178d New York, Col. L. M. Peck; 160th New York, Col. C. C. Dwight; 162d New York, Col. J. W. Blanchard; 133d New York, Col. L. D. Currie, 80th Maine, Col. T. H. Hubbard.

Artillery Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. J. C. Tidball, commanding: 34th New York battery, Brevet Major J. Roemer; 7 Maine battery, Captain A. B. Twitchell; 19th New York battery, Captain E. W. Rogers; Battery D. Pennsylvania Volunteer artillery, Captain S. H. Rhoads; 11th Massachusetts battery, Captain E. J. Jones; 27th New York battery, Captain J. B. Eaton.

FIFTH CORPS.

Brevet Major-Gen. CHARLES GRIFFIN, commanding.
General Staff.

FIRST DIVISION—Brig.-Gen. J. L. CHAMBERLAIN, commanding.

First Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. A. L. Pearson, commanding: 198th Pennsylvania, Capt. John Stanton; 185th New York, Col. G. Sniper.

Second Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. E. M. Gregory, commanding; 189th New York, Col. A. L. Burr; 187th New York, Lieut.-Col. D. Myers; 188th New York, Col. J. McMahon.

Third Brigade—Col. J. Cushing Edmunds, commanding; 3d Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. J. A. Cunningham; 20th Maine, Brevet Major A. W. Clark; 91st Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. E. J. Sellers; 1st Maine Sharpshooters, Capt. Geo. R. Abbott; 16th Michigan, Col. B. F. Partridge; 155th Pennsylvania, Major J. A. Cline; 1st Michigan, Lieut.-Col. George Lockley; 118th Pennsylvania, Brevet Major J. B. Wilson; 83d Pennsylvania, Col. C. P. Rogers.

SECOND DIVISION—Brevet Maj.-Gen. R. B. AYRES, commanding.

First Brigade—Brig.-Gen. Joseph Hayes, commanding; 114th Pennsylvania, Brevet Brig.-Gen. C. H. T. Collis; 5th New York, Lieut.-Col. W. F. Drum; 145th New York, Col. James Grindlay; 140th New York, Lieut.-Col. W. S. Grantsyon; 15th New York heavy artillery, Maj. Louis Eiche; 61st Massachusetts, Col. C. F. Wolcot.

Second Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. A. W. Dennison, commanding; 1st Maryland, Col. D. L. Stanton; 4th Maryland, Col. R. W. Bowerman; 7th Maryland, Major E. M. Mobley; 8th Maryland, Lieut.-Col. E. F. M. Fashtry.

Third Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. James Gwyn, commanding; 190th Pennsylvania, Col. W. R. Hartshorne; 210th Pennsylvania, Major J. H. Graves; 4th Delaware, Brevet Lieut.-Col. M. B. Gist; 3d Delaware, Capt. D. D. Joseph; 8th Delaware, Capt. John Richard; 181st Pennsylvania, Col. James Carle.

THIRD DIVISION—Brevet Brig.-Gen. S. H. CRAWFORD, commanding.

First Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. H. A. Morrow, commanding: 6th Wisconsin, Brevet Lieut.-Col. D. B. Baily; 7th Wisconsin, Lieut.-Col. H. Richardson; 91st New York, Lieut.-Col. W. J. Denslow; Independent Battalion sharpshooters, Capt. Clinton Perry.

Second Brigade—Brig.-Gen. Henry Baxter, commanding: 11th Pennsylvania, Brevet Brig.-Gen. R. Coulter; 97th New York, Col. J. P. Spofford; 104th New York, Lieut.-Col. J. A. Strong; 16th Maine, Major J. R. Small; 39th Massachusetts, Capt. F. R. Kinsley; 107th Pennsylvania, Col. T. F. McCoy.

Third Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. Adrian R. Root, commanding: 94th New York, Lieut.-Col. S. A. Moffatt; 142d Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. H. N. Warren; 95th New York, Lieut.-Col. Crenney; 88th Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. G. Harney; 121st Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. J. L. Warner; 56th Pennsylvania, Major H. A. Laycock; 147th New York, Col. F. C. Miller.

Artillery Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. C. S. Wainwright, commanding: Battery B, 4th U. S. Artillery, Brevet Capt. James Stewart; Battery H, 1st New York Artillery, Brevet Maj. C. E. Mink; Battery B, 1st New York Artillery, Capt. R. E. Rogers; Capt. J. B. Hazleton, Batteries D and G, 5th New York Artillery; Battery D, 1st New York Artillery, First Lieut. J. B. Rawles.

SECOND CORPS.

Major-Gen. A. A. HUMPHREYS, commanding.
General Staff.

Headquarters Escort—Company F, 1st New Jersey cavalry, Capt. John Hobensack, commanding.

FIRST DIVISION—Brevet Brig.-Gen. JOHN RAMSEY, commanding.

Third Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. C. D. McDougall, commanding: 39th New York, Col. A. Funk; 52d New York, Lieut.-Col. H. M. Harples; 125th New York, Major W. H. H. Brainard; 111th New York, Lieut.-Col. L. W. Husk; 126th New York, Capt. Ira H. Wilder; 7th New York, Col. Van Shack.

First Brigade, Col. John Fraser, commanding: 61st New York, Col. George W. Scott; 81st Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. William Wilson; 140th Pennsylvania, Major Thomas Henry; 26th Michigan, Capt. L. H. Ives; 2d New York heavy artillery, Lieut.-Col. George Hoag; 5 New Hampshire, Capt. A. J. Hoitt.

Fourth Brigade—Col. S. A. Mulholland, commanding: 116th Pennsylvania, Major D. W. Megraw; 53d Pennsylvania, Col. William M. Mintzer; 183d Pennsylvania, Col. George T. Egbert; 145th Pennsylvania, Major Charles M. Lynch; 64th New York, Lieut.-Col. William Glenney; 148th Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. James F. Weaver.

Second Brigade—Col. Robert Nugent, commanding: 69th New York, Lieut.-Col. James J. Smith; 28th Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. James Fleming; 88th New York, Lieut.-Col. D. F. Burke; 4th New York heavy artillery, Maj. S. T. Gould; 63d New York, Capt. W. H. Terwilliger.

Artillery Brigade—Brevet Lieut.-Col. J. G. Hazard, commanding: Battery K, 4th United States artillery, Brevet Capt. J. W. Roder; Battery R, 1st

Rhode Island artillery, Lieut. James E. Chase; Battery B, 1st New Jersey artillery, Capt. A. J. Clark; Battery M, 1st New Hampshire artillery, Capt. G. Dakin; 10th Massachusetts Battery, Capt. J. Webb Adams; 11th New York battery, Capt. C. A. Clark.

SECOND DIVISION—Brevet Major-Gen. FRANCIS C. BARLOW, commanding.

First Brigade—Col. Wm. A. Olmstead, commanding: 59th New York, Lieut.-Col. J. A. Jewell; 19th Maine, Lieut.-Col. J. W. Spaulding; 184th Pennsylvania, Col. J. H. Stover; 86th Wisconsin, Lieut.-Col. C. E. Warner; 20th Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. A. R. Curtis; 19th Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. C. E. Rice; 7th Michigan, Lieut.-Col. G. W. Lapoint; 1st Minnesota, Lieut.-Col. W. Donnie; 152d New York, Major J. E. Curtis.

Second Brigade—Col. J. P. McIvor, commanding: 8th New York heavy artillery, Col. J. B. Baker; 170th New York, Major Charles Hagan; 155th New York, Lieut.-Col. John Byrne; 164th New York, Lieut.-Col. Wm. de Lacy; 69th New York N. G. A., Lieut.-Col. John Coonan.

Third Brigade—Col. D. Woodall, commanding: 108th New York, Lieut.-Col. F. E. Pierce; 10th New York, Lieut.-Col. G. F. Hopper; 69th Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. William Davis; 1st Delaware, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Nichols; 4th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Charles C. Callahan; 7th W. Va., Lieut.-Col. F. W. Baldwin; 12th New Jersey, C. D. Lippincott; 14th Connecticut, Capt. J. Frank Morgan; 106th Pennsylvania, Capt. J. H. Gallagher.

THIRD DIVISION—Brevet Maj.-Gen. G. MOTT, commanding.

First Brigade—Brig.-Gen. R. de Trobriand, commanding : 1st Maine heavy artillery, Lieut.-Col. R. B. Shepherd ; 20th Indiana, Lieut.-Col. Andrews ; 110th Pennsylvania, Capt. J. B. Fite ; 99th Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. Peter Fritz ; 40th New York, Lieut.-Col. M. M. Cannon ; 86th New York, Maj. L. Todd ; 73d New York, Lieut.-Col. M. W. Burns ; 124th New York, Lieut.-Col. C. H. Weygant.

Second Brigade—Brig.-Gen. R. R. Pierce, commanding : 17th Maine, Col. C. P. Mattocks ; 105th Pennsylvania, Maj. James Miller ; 5th Michigan, Lieut.-Col. D. S. Root ; 93d New York, Lieut.-Col. H. Gifford ; 141st Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. J. H. Horton ; 1st Massachusetts heavy artillery, Maj. Shotwell ; 57th Pennsylvania, Maj. Samuel Bryan.

Third Brigade—Brig.-Gen. R. McAllister, commanding : 7th New Jersey, Col. Francis Price ; 120th New York, Lieut.-Col. A. L. Lockwood ; 11th Massachusetts, Lieut.-Col. C. C. Rivers ; 8th New Jersey, Lieut.-Col. Henry Hartford ; 11th New Jersey, Lieut.-Col. John Shoenover.

By command of MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE.

Geo. D. Ruggles, Assistant-Adjutant-General.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S ARMY.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S ORDER.

Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi.

In the field, Alexandria, Va., May 20, 1865.

Special field Orders, No. 71.

I. To make the review ordered for this army in the city of Washington on Wednesday, May 24, the two wings without knapsacks, and with two (2) days'

cooked rations in haversacks will during Tuesday close, well upon the Long Bridge, the right wing in advance. On Wednesday, at break of day, the troops will move out of bivouac by the right flank, and march until the head of the column is closed up to Capitol grounds, and then mass as close as possible east of the canal, ready to march according to Special Orders No. 239, Adjutant-General's Office, May 18, by close columns of companies, right in front, guide left by the route prescribed. When the companies fall below fifteen (15) files the Battalions will form columns by Divisions. At nine o'clock A. M. precisely, a single gun will be fired by the leading battery, when the head of column will march around the Capitol down Pennsylvania avenue, and past the reviewing stand in front of the President's House, thence to the New Camps or to a bivouac, according to the pleasure of the army Commanders. All colors will be unfurled from the Capitol to a point beyond the President's reviewing stand. The General-in-Chief will ride at the head of column and take post near the reviewing officer. The commanders of each army, corps and division, attended by one staff officer, will dismount after passing the General-in-Chief and join him while his army, corps or division is passing, when he will remount and join his command. Officers commanding regiments and above will present swords on passing reviewing officer, but company officers will make no salute. Brigade bands or consolidated field music will turn out and play as their brigade passes the reviewing officer, but will be careful to cease playing in time for the succeeding band to be heard. One band per division may play during the march from

the Capitol to the Treasury Building. The colors of each battalion will salute by drooping in passing the reviewing officer, and the field-music make three ruffles without interrupting the "march" of the band. Should intervals occur in the columns, care will be taken that divisions pass the reviewing stand compactly, and if the passing of the bridge draw out the columns, the march will be continued with as little interruption as possible at full distance. Army commanders will make all subordinate arrangements as to guides, etc.

II. Army Commanders may at once select new camps east of the Potomac, the Right Wing above Washington, and Left Wing below, and make arrangements with the Quartermaster's Department to collect fuel, forage, etc. in advance at their new camps, and may march thereto direct from the review by routes that will not interrupt the progress of the columns behind. The wagon trains with camp equipage and knapsacks, can follow the day after the review.

III. Mustering officers will at once see to the preparations of rolls for pay and discharge of the organizations, and men that are to be discharged under existing orders of the War Department, but no discharges will be made till after the review. By order of W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General.

L.M. Dayton, Major and Assistant Adjutant General.

GENERAL HOWARD'S ORDER.

Headquarters Army of the Tennessee.

Alexandria, Va., May 22, 1865.

General orders No. 11.

In accordance with instructions received from

Headquarters of the Military Division of the Mississippi, the Army of the Tennessee will pass in review through Washington city on the 24th instant, in the following order, viz :

1. General commanding Army, staff and escort.
2. The first regiment Michigan Engineers and First regiment Missouri Engineers, Colonel J. B. Yates, commanding. (sic)
3. Fifteenth Army Corps, Major-General John A. Logan, commanding.
4. Seventeenth Army Corps, Major-General F. P. Blair, commanding.

The Artillery of the Army will be marched by brigades in rear of the infantry of each corps, and under command of the respective chiefs of artillery for the corps. If the width of the streets will admit, batteries will be moved battery front.

The Army will march on the 23d instant from its present camp to the neighborhood of the Long Bridge, and will there be put in bivouac for the night. The troops will be supplied with two days' cooked rations, in haversacks, and will march in review without knapsacks.

At daylight on the 24th instant the Army will commence crossing the Long Bridge, with Engineer regiments in advance, and will move by Maryland avenue to the north and east of the Capitol, massing in streets contiguous to the line of march.

The Engineer regiments will form on North Capitol street—head of column opposite to the northern entrance to the Capitol grounds—prepared to wheel into Pennsylvania avenue precisely at nine A.M.

The Fifteenth Army corps, Major-General John A. Logan commanding will be formed on Maryland

avenue with head of column near the northern entrance to the Capitol grounds, prepared to move in the rear of the Engineer regiments.

The Seventeenth Army Corps, Major-General F. P. Blair commanding, will be formed on East Capitol street, prepared to move in rear of the Fifteenth Army corps.

The line of march will be up Pennsylvania avenue, past the President's House where the reviewing officer will stand, round the circle and then by K and Fourteenth streets to camps already indicated to corps commanders.

The order of march will be in column of companies closed in mass, right in front, with reduced intervals between regiments, brigade and divisions. Companies will be equalized by the divisions, and whenever they fall below fifteen files the battalion will form column by divisions, Six ambulances, three abreast, will follow each brigade.

The troops will be marched at shoulder arms, with fixed bayonets, after passing the Treasury Department, and until they shall have crossed Seventeenth street. The cadence step will be taken from the moment the head of the column moves from the Capitol. All colors will be unfurled during the entire march.

Corps and division commanders are particularly enjoined to move their commands in such a manner as will insure an unbroken and unclogged column, and will study the route of march, prior to the review, to that end.

On approaching the reviewing officer all mounted officers will salute and none other. The corps and division commanders will, after passing the review-

ing officer, dismount, and, accompanied by one staff officer, take position near the commanding General of the Army during the period that their commands may occupy in passing, when they will rejoin their troops and conduct them to their camps. No other officer than those above mentioned will leave the column.

The drum corps of each brigade will be massed at the head of the brigade, and will wheel out of column opposite the reviewing officer until the brigade shall have passed, when they will pass from position in front of the stand. Brigade bands will continue at the head of their respective brigades. The colors will salute by drooping on passing the reviewing officer, and the field music will make the ruffle without interrupting the march.

Precisely at nine A. M. a single gun will be fired by one of the advance batteries, when the column will be put in motion as heretofore directed. Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Ross, chief of Artillery, Fifteenth Army corps, is charged with the execution of this paragraph.

Suitable camp guards will be left in charge of the camps, and the trains of the Corps will commence crossing the Potomac after the review shall have passed.

By command of

Major-General O. O. HOWARD.

A. M. Van Dyke, Assistant Adjutant-General.
Official, A. M. Van Dyke, Assistant Adjutant-General.

COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY.

Maj.-Gen. W. T. SHERMAN, commanding.

Staff: Brigadier General, J. D. Webster, Chief of

Staff; Brevet Major General Barry, Chief of Artillery; Brigadier General Beckwith, Chief Commissary of Subsistence; Brigadier General Easton, Chief Quartermaster; Col. O. M. Poe, Chief Engineer; Colonel Lawyer, Assistant Adjutant General; Lieutenant Colonel J. L. Baylor, Ordnance Officer; Lieutenant Colonel Gæber, Quartermaster; Colonel Moore, Medical Director; Major L. M. Dayton, Assistant Adjutant General, Majors McCoy, N. Nichols and Audenreid, Captains Dickson, Merritt and Marshall, Aids-de-Camp; Captain Backtell, Chief Signal Officer; Lieutenant Connelly, Assistant Engineer Officer.

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE.

Major General JOHN A. LOGAN (late Major-General O. O. Howard), commanding:

Staff: Lieut.-Col. Max Woodhull, Asst. Adj.-General; Major John S. Hoover, Senior A. D. C.; Lieut. Col. S. D. Nichols, 4th Iowa Infantry, A. A. I. G.; Major R. Niccolla, Surgeon U. S. V., Medical Director; Major John M. Woodworth, Surgeon First Illinois artillery, Medical Inspector; Major A. C. Perry, 52d Illinois Infantry, A. A. D. C.; Capt. Wm. B. Pratt, A. D. C.; Capt. L. B. Mitchell, A. D. C. and A. * * * * * Capt. O. C. Powleson, commanding Ambulance Corps; Maj. F. C. Gillette, Provost-Marshal Capt. F. F. Whitehead, A. A. G. U. S. V., A. A. D. C.

ENGINEER REGIMENTS: The First Regiment Michigan Engineers and First Regiment Missouri Engineers, Col. J. B. Yates, commanding.

FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

Maj. Gen. WM. B. HAZEN (late Maj. Gen. Logan), commanding.

Staff: Capt. G. Lapland, A. A. G. Capt. C. A. Eainerst, A. A. I. G.

FIRST DIVISION—Maj. Gen. C. R. WOODS, commanding.

Capt. Fred. H. W. Wilson, A. A. Gen. 1st Division.
Capt. A. B. Smith, A. A. I. G.

First Brigade—Brevet Brig. Gen. W. B. Woods, commanding; 12th Indiana, Col. Reuben Williams commanding; 76th Ohio, Lieut. Col. Edward Briggs, commanding; 27th Missouri, Col. Thomas Cunly, commanding; 81st & 8d Missouri, Lieut. Col. A. J. Seavy, commanding; 98d Illinois, Lieut. Col. A. C. Burrell, commanding.

Second Brigade—Col. R. F. Cattlesin, commanding; 40th Illinois, Lieut. Col. H. W. Hall, commanding; 46th Ohio, Lieut. Col. E. N. Upton, commanding; 103d Illinois, Lieut. Col. Geo. W. Wright, commanding; 6th Iowa, Lieut. Col. W. H. Clune, commanding; 97th Indiana, Lieut. Col. N. G. Corvine, commanding; 26th Illinois, Lieut. Col. Ira J. Bloomfield; 100th Indiana, Capt. J. W. Headington, commanding.

Third Brigade: Col. George A. Stone, commanding; 4th Iowa, Major A. R. Anderson; 9th Iowa, Major A. Abernethy; 25th Iowa, Lieut. Col. D. J. Palmer; 26th Iowa, Major John Stubbins; 30th Iowa, Lieut. Col. A. Roberts; 31st Iowa, Lieut. Col. J. W. Jenkins.

SECOND DIVISION—Major-Gen. W. B. HAZEN, commanding.

First Brigade—Col. Theodore Jones, commanding; 6th Missouri, Capt. H. D. Stephens; 55th Illinois, Captain Charles Audress; 116th Illinois, Capt. Nicholas Geschround; 127th Illinois, Lieut. Col.

Frank C. Curlie ; 80th Ohio, Lieut. Col. E. P. Brooks ; 57th Ohio, Lieut. Col. Samuel R. Mott ; 10th Iowa, Lieut. Col. Wm. H. Silsby ; 17th Iowa, Capt. Wm. Horner ; 80th Ohio, Capt. Thos. C. Morris.

Second Brigade—Col. Wm. S. Jones, commanding : 37th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Van Blessingh ; 47th Ohio, Col. N. C. Pang ; 58d Ohio, Capt. Robert Curran ; 54th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. J. T. Moore ; 88d Indiana, Capt. W. N. Cram ; 111th Illinois, Col. James S. Martin.

Battalion—26th Missouri, Capt. T. M. Rice.

Third Brigade,—Brig.-Gen. John M. Oliver, commanding : 15th Michigan, Lieut.-Col. F. S. Hutchinson ; 70th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. H. L. Phillips ; 48th Illinois, Lieut.-Col. T. L. B. Werner ; 90th Illinois, Lieut.-Col. O. Stuart ; 56th Illinois, Lieut.-Col. J. P. Hall ; 99th Indiana, Capt. J. Fairar.

FOURTH DIVISION. — Brevet Major-Gen. JOHN M. CORSE, commanding : Capt. L. K. Everets, Asst. Adjt.-Gen. ; Capt. Chas. Rateray, Act.-Asst.-Insp.-Gen.

First Brigade—Brig.-Gen. E. W. Rice, commanding : 2d Iowa, Col. N. B. Howard ; 7th Iowa, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Parrott ; 66th Indiana, Lieut.-Col. R. Martin ; 52d Illinois, Lieut.-Col. J. D. Davis ; 12th Illinois, Lieut.-Col. H. Vanseller.

Second Brigade—Brig.-Gen. W. T. Clark, commanding : 81st Ohio, Col. R. N. Adams ; 50th Indiana, Lieut.-Col. F. A. McNaught ; 18th Wisconsin, Lieut.-Col. Chas. H. Jackson ; 63d Illinois, Capt. J. R. Sandford ; 43d Indiana, Capt. N. Bingham.

Third Brigade—Col. R. Rorrett, commanding : 7th Illinois, Lieut.-Col. H. Perrin ; 39th Iowa, Lieut.-Col. J. M. Griffith ; 50th Illinois, Lieut.-Col. Wm.

Hanna ; 57th Illinois, Major F. A. Batty ; 66th Illinois, Capt. D. C. Gamble.

Artillery Brigade—Lieut.-Col. Wm. H. Ross, commanding ; F. J. Fairbrass, Asst.-Act. Adj.-Gen. ; Battery H., 1st Illinois Light Artillery, Capt. Francis Degrus ; 12th Wisconsin Battery, Capt. Wm. Dyckerick ; Battery B, 1st Michigan Artillery, Capt. A. F. R. Arndt ; Battery B, 1st Missouri Light Artillery, Capt. C. M. Callahan.

SEVENTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

Major-Gen. FRANK P. BLAIR, JR., commanding.

Staff : Lieut.-Col. C. Cadle, Jr. A. A.-Gen. ; Lieut.-Col. A. Hickenlooper, A.I.-Gen. ; Lieut.-Col. E. M. Joel, Chief Q.M. ; Lieut.-Col. J. H. W. Mills, Chief C.S. ; Lieut.-Col. J. H. Boucher, Medical Director ; Major Logan Tompkins, Senior A.D.C. ; Capt. Richard Steele, A.D.C. ; Capt. William Henley, A.D.C. ; Lieut.-Col. T. D. Kirby, Packet officer ; Major J. C. Marven, Provost Marshal ; Capt. C. M. Roberts, C.M. ; Capt. William E. Ware, A.A.A.-Gen.

FIRST DIVISION—Brig.-Gen. MANNING F. FORCE, commanding.

Capt. S. R. Adams, A.A.-Gen. ; Capt. A. Kochne, A.A.I.G.

First Brigade—Brig.-Gen. John W. Fuller, commanding : 18th Missouri V.V. Infantry, Col. C. S. Sheldon, commanding ; 27th Ohio V.V. Infantry, Major J. N. Gibruth, commanding ; 39th Ohio, V.V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. Daniel Weber, commanding ; 64th Illinois V.V. Infantry, Major J. S. Reynolds, commanding.

Second Brigade—Brig.-Gen. J. W. Sprague, commanding : 25th Wisconsin V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col.

J. M. Rusk, commanding: 85th New Jersey V.V. Infantry, Col. John J. Cladeck, commanding: 48d Ohio V.V. Infantry, Capt. John H. Rhodes, commanding: 68d Ohio V.V. Infantry, Major O. L. Jackson, commanding.

Third Brigade—Brevet Brig.-Gen. John Tillson, commanding: 10th Illinois V. V. Infantry, Lieut. Col. D. Gillespie, commanding: 25th Indiana V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. James S. Wright, commanding: 32d Wisconsin V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. Joseph H. Carleton, commanding:

THIRD DIVISION—Brevet Major-Gen. MORTIMER D. LEGGETT commanding.

Capt. John C. Douglass, A. A. Gen.; Major J. C. Robinson, A. A. I. Gen.

First Brigade—Brig.-Gen. Charles R. Ewing, commanding: 16th Wisconsin V. V. Infantry, Col. C. Fairchilds; 45th Illinois V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. John O. Duer; 81st Illinois V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. R. N. Pearson commanding: 20th Illinois V. V. Infantry, Capt. Henry King; 30th Illinois V. V. Infantry, Capt. J. P. Davis; 12th Wisconsin V. V. Infantry, Col. James K. Proudfit.

Second Brigade—Brig.-Gen. Robert K. Scott, commanding: 20th Ohio V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. Harry Wilson; 68th Ohio V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. George E. Welles; 78th Ohio V. V. Infantry, Col. G. F. Wiles; 17th Wisconsin V. V. Infantry, Col. A. G. Malloy.

FOURTH DIVISION—Brevet Major-Gen. GILES A. SMITH, commanding.

Capt. Ad. Ware, Jr. A. A. Gen.; Major C. H. Brush, A. A. I. Gen.

First Brigade—Brig.-Gen. Benj. F. Potts, command-

ing : 23d Indiana V. V. Infantry, Capt. J. W. Hammond ; 32d Ohio V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. Jeff. J. Hibbetts ; 58d Indiana V. V. Infantry, Col. J. L. Vestal ; 68d Illinois V. V. Infantry, Col. J. W. McClanahan.

Second Brigade : Brig.-Gen. C. J. Stolbrand, commanding : 14th Illinois V. V. Infantry, Col. Cyrus Hall ; 15th Illinois Infantry, Col. George C. Rogers ; 32d Illinois V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. George E. English.

Third Brigade—Brig.-Gen. William W. Belknap, commanding : 11th Iowa V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. Benjamin L. Beach ; 18th Iowa V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Kennedy ; 15th Iowa V. V. Infantry, Lieut.-Col. George Pomutz ; 16th Iowa V. V. Infantry, Major J. H. Smith.

Artillery—Major Frederick Welker, Chief of Artillery.

Battery C, 1st Michigan Light Artillery, Capt. Wm. W. Hyzer ; 1st Minnesota Battery, Capt. W. Z. Clayton ; 15th Ohio Battery, Capt. James Burdick ; 9th Illinois Mounted Infantry, Lieut.-Col. S. T. Hughes ; 135th U. S. C. T., Col. John E. Gurley, commanding :

ARMY OF GEORGIA.

Major-Gen. H. W. SLOCUM, commanding.

Staff : Lieutenant-Colonel M. Rochester and Major R. P. Dechert, Assistant Adjutant Generals ; Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Guindon ; Majors W. W. Moseley and W. G. Tracy Aids-de-camp ; Lieutenant-Colonel P. M. Horn, Inspector ; Major J. A. Reynolds, Chief of Artillery ; Captains H. W. Howgate and Ben. Foraker, Signal Officers ; Captain W. H. Mickle, Artillery Adjutant.

FOURTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

Brevet Major-General JEFF. C. DAVIS, of Indiana, commanding.

Staff: Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. McClurg, Assistant Adjutant General and Chief of Staff; Captain John F. Squier, Aid-de-camp; Captain George W. Smith, Aid-de-Camp; Lieutenant-Colonel H. G. Litchfield, Assistant Inspector-General; Major W. C. Daniels, Medical Director; Major Charles Haughtelling, Chief of Artillery; Major John B. Lee, Provost Marshal; Captain J. E. Remington, Chief Quartermaster; Captain J. Van Bruner, Chief Commissary of Subsistence; Captain Jesse Fulmer, Commissary of Musters; Captain John C. Martin, Staff Quartermaster; Captain A. L. Messmore, Staff Commissary of Subsistence.

THIRD DIVISION—Brevet Major-General ABSALOM BAIRD, commanding:

Staff: Captain J. W. Acheson, Assistant Adjutant General; Major J. A. Connolly, Acting Inspector-General, Major John Moulton, Provost Marshal; Major Charles N. Fowler, Chief Surgeon; Captain Jacob Kline, Acting Commissary of Musters; Captain William B. Biddle, Acting Ordnance Officer; Captain M. B. W. Harman, Acting Assistant Quartermaster; Lieutenant Osborne, Acting Commissary of Subsistence.

Third Brigade—Brigadier-General Green, commanding:

Staff: Captain William B. Jacob, Acting Inspector-General; Captain William B. Pugh, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain J. White, Acting Assistant Quartermaster; Captain Dexter Horton, Commissary of Subsistence; Captain J. B. Newton, Provost Marshal; Lieutenant J. F. McNear, Aid-de-camp.

Regiments: Eighteenth Kentucky; Fourteenth Ohio; Thirty-eighth Ohio; Seventy-fourth Indiana.

First Brigade—Colonel McHunter, commanding.

Staff: Captain T. R. Thatcher, Inspector and Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain George F. Waller, Topographical Engineer; Captain J. R. Webber, Commissary of Subsistence; Lieutenant J. C. Allen Worth, Acting Aid-de-camp; Major J. D. Colton, Chief-Surgeon.

Regiments: Twenty-third Missouri; Eighty-ninth Ohio; Ninety-second Ohio; Thirty-first Ohio; Eighty-second Indiana; Seventeenth Ohio.

Second Brigade—Colonel Gleason, commanding.

Staff: Captain S. Fortner, Acting Assistant-General; Captain M. D. Ellis, Acting Inspector-General; Lieutenant H. H. Conner, Acting Assistant-Quartermaster; Lieutenant E. T. Montgomery, commanding detachments.

Regiments: Second Minnesota, Colonel J. H. Bishop; Seventy-fifth Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien; One Hundred and First Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Theo. Doan; Eighty-seventh Indiana, Colonel E. P. Hammond; One Hundred and Fifth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Geo. F. Perkins.

SECOND DIVISION—Brevet Major-General JAMES D. MORGAN, commanding.

Staff: Captain Theodore Wiseman, Assistant Adjutant-General; Major Edward Balwell, Medical Director; Captain Robert B. Stinson, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain J. L. Orr, Commissary of Subsistence; Captain Hiram J. Craft, Provost-Marshal; Lieutenant A. L. Coe, Acting Assistant-Quartermaster; Lieutenant George Scroggs, Assistant-Commissary of Musters; Lieutenant W. H.

Shoup, Assistant Ordnance Officer.

First Brigade: Brigadier-General Wm. Vandever of Iowa, commanding.

Staff: Major W. C. Pace, Chief Surgeon; Captain J. Walter Myers, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant James Stewart, Aid-de-camp and Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal; Lieutenant Samuel L. Dwight, Acting Aid-de-camp; Lieutenant Lucius L. King, Acting Assistant-Quartermaster, and Acting Commissary of Subsistence.

Regiments: Sixteenth Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles D. Kerr; Seventeenth New York, Major A. S. Marshall; Sixtieth Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. Evans; Tenth Michigan, Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Dunphy; Fourteenth Michigan, Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. Grummond.

Second Brigade—Brigadier-General John G. Mitchell of Ohio, commanding.

Staff: Captain J. S. Wilson, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain W. C. Robinson, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain L. S. Windle, Acting Aid-de-camp; Lieutenant Robert McGonagle, Acting Aid-de-camp; Major A. Zipperlen, Chief Surgeon; Captain Joseph Swisher, Acting Assistant-Quartermaster; Lieutenant O. M. Scott, Acting Ordnance Officer; Lieutenant John B. Latter, Acting Commissary Subsistence.

Regiments: One Hundred and Eighth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel James Good; One Hundred and Sixteenth Ohio, Captain Toland Jones; One Hundred and Twenty-first Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel A. B. Robinson; Thirty-fourth Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel P. Edge; Seventy-eighth Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel M. R. Vernon; Ninety-eighth Ohio, Major D. E. Bootch.

Third Brigade—Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Langley, commanding.

Staff: Captain W. M. Tanner, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain J. W. Burkhalter, Assistant Inspector-General; Captain G. McCantrell, Aid-de-Camp; Lieutenant A. J. Coula, Provost-Marshal; Major M. M. Hooton, Chief Surgeon; Lieutenant J. M. Batchelor, Acting Assistant-Commissary of Subsistence and Lieutenant A. M. Ayers, Acting Assistant-Quartermaster.

Regiments: Fifty-second Ohio, Major J. F. Holmes; One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Illinois, Captain G. W. Cook; Eighty-fifth Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Griffeth; Twenty-second Indiana, Major Thomas Shea; Eighty-sixth Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel A. L. Fahnestock.

FIRST DIVISION—Brigadier-General C. C. WILCOTT, of Ohio, commanding.

Staff: Captain J. E. Edmunds, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant W. S. Johnston, Aid-de-Camp; Major J. F. Reeve, Chief Surgeon; Captain Fred. L. Clarke, Assistant-Quartermaster; Captain E. F. Deaton, Commissary Subsistence; Captain George H. Tracy, Assistant-Commissary of Musters; Captain D. W. Benham, Ordnance Officer; Captain J. C. Taylor, Assistant Inspector-General; Lieutenant W. D. Putnam, Provost-Marshal; Lieutenant O. C. Townsend, Acting Assistant-Quartermaster.

Second Brigade—Brevet Brigadier-General Geo. P. Buell, commanding.

Staff: Captain Tom G. Stevenson, A. A. A. G.; Captain George W. Rowe, Provost-Marshal; Major John Avery, Chief Surgeon; Captain Albert E. Barr,

A. C. S. ; Captain Henry Ludden, A. I. G. ; Lieutenant Zach. Jones, A. D. C. ; Lieutenant L. E. Chenaworth, A. A. Q. M.

Regiments : Seventy-fourth Ohio, Major R. P. Finaley ; Thirteenth Michigan, Colonel J. H. Culver ; Sixty-ninth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Brigham ; Twenty-first Michigan, Lieutenant-Colonel L. D. Bishop.

Third Brigade—Colonel H. A. Hambright, commanding.

Staff : Lieutenant L. G. Bodie, A. A. G. ; Major D. S. Young, Chief Surgeon ; Captain R. M. Dysart, A. A. I. G. ; Captain N. Willard, C. S. ; Lieutenant R. McFadden, Provost Marshal and Ordnance Officer ; Lieutenant Louis Zecher, A. A. Q. M.

Regiments : Thirty-eighth Indiana, Colonel D. Y. Patton ; Twenty-first Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel A. McMahon ; Seventy-ninth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel D. Miles.

Corps Artillery—Major Houghtaling, commanding.

Batteries : Third Wisconsin, Captain McKnight ; Battery I. Second Illinois ; Battery C. First Illinois, Lieutenant Sewell.

First Brigade—Brevet Brigadier-General H. C. Hobart, commanding.

Staff : Captain John W. Ford, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General ; Captain S. H. Sherlock, Assistant Adjutant-General ; Captain A. J. Rogers, Provost Marshal ; Lieutenant Charles W. Whitaker, Aid-de-camp ; Captain B. J. Van Valkenburgh, Acting Quartermaster ; Captain J. E. Stewart, Acting Commissary Subsistence.

Regiments : Ninety-fourth Ohio, Major Wm. H.

Snyder ; Eighty-eighth Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel C. E. Bryant ; Thirty-third Ohio, Major C. Henson ; Forty-second Indiana, Major G. R. Kellam ; Twenty-first Wisconsin, Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Fitch ; One Hundred and Fourth Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel Papernon.

TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS.

Major-General JOS. A. MOWER, commanding.

Staff: Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. Perkins and Lieutenant Charles Moyer, Assistant Adjutant Generals ; Major DeGrass, Captain Christiansen, Lieutenant Luke O'Reilly, Aids ; Lieutenant Colonel LeDuc, Quartermaster ; Lieutenant Colonel Bullock, Chief Commissary of Subsistence ; Major Parks, Provost Marshal ; Captain E. Schilling, Engineer ; Captain Cameron, Inspector.

FIRST DIVISION—Brevet Major General A. S. WILLIAMS of Michigan and staff.

First Brigade Band.

First Brigade—Brevet Brigadier-Gen. James L. Selfridge, commanding and staff : 123rd New York Vols., Col. James C. Rogers, commanding ; 141st New York Vols., Lieut. Col. Andrew J. McNett, commanding ; 5th Connecticut Vols., Lieut. Col. Henry W. Daboll, commanding ; 46th Pennsylvania Vet. Vols., Major Patrick Griffeth, commanding.

Second Brigade Band.

Second Brigade—Brevet Brigadier-Gen. Hawley, commanding ; 107th New York Vols., Col. N. M. Crane, commanding ; 150th New York Vols., Col. A. B. Smith ; 13th New York Vols., Capt. J. Harvey ; 2d Massachusetts Vols., Lieut. Col. C. F. Morse, 3d Wisconsin Vols., Lieut. Col. G. W. Stephenson.

Third Brigade Band.

Third Brigade—Brigadier-Gen. J. S. Robinson (82d Ohio) commanding and Staff: 82d Ohio Vet. Vols., Col. S. J. McGroarty; 143d N. Y. Vols., Col. Horace Boughton; 32d Ill. Vols., Lieut.-Col. Ed. St. Salmon; 81st Wis. Vols., Lieut.-Col. George D. Rogers; 101st Ill. Vols., Lieut.-Col. John D. Le Sage.

SECOND DIVISION—Brevet Major-Gen. JOHN W. GEARY, of Pennsylvania and Staff.

First Brigade Band.

First Brigade—Brevet Brig-Gen. A. Pardes Jr., commanding and Staff: 147th Penn., Lieut.-Col. John Craig; 29th Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Jonas Schoonover; 5th O., Lieut.-Col. Robert Kirkup; 66th O., Lieut.-Col. John T. Mitchell; 28th Penn., Lieut.-Col. James Fitzpatrick.

Second Brigade Drum Corps.

Second Brigade—Brigadier-Gen. P. H. Jones (formerly 154th N. Y.) commanding and Staff; 83d New Jersey, Col. George W. Mendel; 49th New York, Col. John T. Lockman; 73d Penn., Major C. H. Goebel; 154th New York, Lieut.-Col. L. D. Warner; 134th N. Y., Lieut.-Col. A. H. Jackson.

Third Brigade Band.

Third Brigade—Brevet Brigadier-Gen. H. A. Barnum commanding and Staff; 29th Penn. Vet. Vols., Col. S. M. Zulick, commanding; 111th Penn. Vet. Vols., Col. Thomas M. Walker, commanding; 187th N. Y. Vol., Lieut.-Col. K. S. Van Moorhees, commanding; 102d N. Y. Vet. Vols., Lieut.-Col. H. S. Chatfield commanding; 60th N. Y. Vet. Vols.,

Lieut.-Col. L. S. Wilson, commanding ; 149th N. Y. Vols., Major N. Grumbach, commanding.

THIRD DIVISION—Brevet Major-Gen. W. G. WARD, commanding, and Staff.

First Brigade Band.

First Brigade : Brevet Brigadier-Gen. Benj. Harrison, commanding and Staff ; 70th Ind. Lieut.-Col. S. Merrill ; 102d Ill., Col. F. C. Smith ; 79th O., Lieut.-Col. A. W. Doan ; 129th Ill., Col. H. Case ; 105th Ill., Lieut.-Col. E. F. Dutton.

Second Brigade Band.

Second Brigade—Brevet Brigadier-Gen. Dan'l Duntan commanding and Staff ; 83d Ind. (Vet.), Lieut.-Col. Jas. E. Burton ; 11th Mich., Major David Anderson ; 22d Wis., Lieut.-Col. Edward Bloodgood ; 85th Ind., Lieut.-Col. Alex. B. Crane.

Third Brigade Band.

Third Brigade—Brevet Brigadier-Gen. Wm. Cogswell (formerly of 2d Mass.) commanding and Staff ; 63d O. (Vet.) Lieut.-Col. Samuel Hurst ; 136th N. Y., Col. James Wood ; 20th Conn., Lieut.-Col. P. B. Buckingham ; 26th Wis., Lieut. Col. Fred C. Winkler ; 83d Mass., Lieut., Col. Elisha Doan ; 55th O. (Vet.) Lieut. Col. E. H. Powers.

Artillery Brigade—Capt. Chas. E. Winegar, commanding ; Battery "E" Independent Pennsylvania Artillery, Capt. Thomas S. Sloan ; Battery "I" 1st N. Y. Artillery, Lieut. Warren L. Scott ; Battery "C" 1st O. Artillery, Lieut. Jerome B. Stevens ; Battery "M" 1st New York Artillery, Lieut. Edward P. Newkirk.

APPENDIX III.

THE FIRST DAY OF THE GRAND REVIEW DESCRIBED.

Extract from the " Report of Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Potomac, Twenty First Annual Reunion held at Portland, Maine, July 3d and 4th, 1890," as printed for the use of members of the Society.

From this pamphlet, at its pages 18 to 32, inclusive is taken the following :

ORATION.

BY GENERAL FRANCIS A. WALKER.

Twenty-five years ago on the 23d of May the Army of the Potomac, having fought a good fight and finished its course with honor, passed in final review before the President of the United States prior to disbandment.

Upon the reviewing stand were General Grant, General Sherman, Secretary Stanton, and other members of the Cabinet, Senators Wilson, Wade and Sherman, and " War Governors " Buckingham, of Connecticut, Fenton, of New York. and Andrew, of Massachusetts.

One important exception only there was to the completeness, the personal interest, and the poetic justice of the grand review. The gallant and great hearted Sixth Corps, under Wright, was still de-

tained in the vicinity of its old battle-fields ; but its pickets were no longer disturbed by the crack of hostile rifles ; no four o'clock-in-the morning yell broke the well earned sleep of its veteran regiments. Peace reigned where so lately raged furious war.

The weather was all that could have been desired for the great pageant at the nation's Capitol. The sky was clear, the air cool, and a pleasant breeze blew steadily throughout the day from the north. The head of column moved promptly at 9 o'clock, and for six full hours thereafter that fiery flood of living valor poured along Pennsylvania Avenue.

The line of march was from the Capitol, past the head of the street which leads down to Long Bridge, past the Treasury, past the White House, where Lincoln had watched and waited through four years of terrible anxiety, on to the Georgetown circle, where the column parted, and the troops took their several ways to camp, never again to be assembled for pageant or battle.

While that long march was in progress a man from a foreign land, an officer trained to arms and inured to war, who had seen almost every army of Europe operating in the field, from the Crimea to the Danish duchies, and had known all the great captains of the day, who had watched the course of the civil war in America with both a military and political interest, and had made himself familiar with its chief names, whether of leaders or of battlefields, leaned from the balcony of a house fronting upon the avenue, noting with eager attention every feature of that mighty display.

What was it this man from foreign parts saw? He saw a body of cavalry highly unique, little like

any other on which his eyes had fallen, yet more formidable to a foe than any equal number of horsemen who ever rode together into battle. Those stern and serried ranks owed almost nothing to the drill sergeant, still less to the riding master. Those grim troopers had been trained but little in camp or barrack. In some cases they had actually been mustered in the field. In all, they had there learned everything of practical value which they knew. Of the few precepts relating to the theory and practice of modern warfare which had been taught them, they had, on trial, rejected more than they had retained. Little by little traditions and prescriptions had dropped out. Little by little the severe experiences of a war of unexampled activity and ferocity had built the American cavalry up to an extraordinary efficiency. It was in the presence of the enemy and under the pressure of actual service that the soldier acquired his seat, the officer his tactics.

Hammered into shape by hard blows, in the white heat of battle, the cavalry which that day rode at the head of the Army of the Potomac represented the utmost which human daring and skill could do in a mounted service. They had invented the raid, that hitherto unknown instrument of war, and had developed all its capabilities. They had compassed long and rapid marches, cut their way through forests, bridged streams or swam them, skirmished in thick woods amid tangled under-growth, demonstrated as infantry upon the flanks of the enemy, and when necessity arose had fought with infantry upon equal terms, mounted or on foot. Beginning with no technical discipline and generally unaccustomed

to the saddle, they had encountered at a grave disadvantage the choicest body of native horsemen the world had seen, the very flower of the Southern chivalry, led by captains as brave as ever rode light hearted into battle ; but gradually the grim Northern temper, and the stern experiences of four years of continuous campaigning, had brought them the mastery.

The man from foreign parts saw, too, an artillery hardly less notable for the degree in which it had made itself, or for the efficiency it had attained through long and trying service.

But it was as the great infantry column of ten divisions came into view that his interest rose to its height, and he scanned the quickly succeeding ranks of coarsely dressed soldiery with intensest gaze. This, then, was the infantry that had for four long and bloody years battled with the superb army of Northeastern Virginia, alike in dark, tangled, and swampy forests like those of the Chickahominy, the Po, and Hatcher's Run, and upon picturesque and theatrical fields, like those of Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg. Here were troops which had fought battles more bloody than Borodino and Waterloo, corps which had dropped one-third their number in a single contest, where individual divisions lost one half, brigades two-thirds, regiments three-fourths of all they had carried into action. Here were soldiers who had on three successive days engaged the enemy with unfaltering spirit and unimpaired discipline, their conduct but rising to sublimer heights of courage and devotion as their ranks grew thinner and thinner. This was the magnificent Northern infantry which

had, after a struggle unparalleled in warfare, conquered and captured the magnificent infantry of Lee.

While thus this scholar and soldier from another clime and of another race watched with a cool, critical, yet earnest gaze the march of that mighty column, a pale young Union officer of artillery, with an empty sleeve, stood upon the sidewalk along Lafayette Square, and scanned with eager, recognizing eyes each rank as it wheeled to the left out of Fifteenth Street, and took its new direction past his post of observation.

He knew that army well. The exigencies of service had brought his battery successively into the artillery reserve, and into the artillery brigades of two different corps, while there was scarcely a division of the army on to whose line he had not galloped with his guns in the heat of some tremendous action. He had seen every leader of renown dash along the front of battle, now into the clouds of smoke, now out of the clouds of smoke, as the fight grew fiercer and the foemen came closer and yet closer. Winning credit and promotion with each campaign, he had risen to the command of his battery, when in one of the winter expeditions of 1864-65 he had lost an arm; only returning to Washington in season to witness the great review.

What was it that this young officer saw upon the 23d of May, 1865? Let us look with his eyes, as we have looked upon this mighty host with the eyes of a stranger and a foreigner. He has no "Order of the Day" to guide his mind, and it is with eager curiosity and a fast throbbing pulse as he gazes upon each quickly succeeding body of troops, to

gather the first indication of its identity, and to recognize, if he may, its commander.

The long continued strains of martial music, drawing nearer and nearer, have wrought expectation to its height, when there wheels from Fifteenth Street into the avenue the brilliant headquarters staff. There, at the head of two score officers, rides the gallant and accomplished soldier who has commanded the army, in good and evil fortune, since the leading staff fell from Hooker's hand on the march to Gettysburg, twenty-three months before. Tall and gaunt, scholarly yet knightly in aspect, Gen. Meade, on this proudest day of his life, bears himself like a true captain who has struggled, and has conquered. His mistakes have been all made, his defeats have been all suffered. Only victory remains and a fame forever secure.

With him are Webb, Chief of Staff; Hunt, the unrivaled artilleryman; Batchelder, Chief Quartermaster; and Seth Williams, Adjutant-General, who, through all the bickerings and backbitings which belong to headquarters, through all the rivalries and jealousies of a half dozen campaigns, has borne the unqualified respect of every commanding officer below, and the absolute confidence of all successive leaders of the Army of the Potomac.

Headquarters have passed, a moment of suspense follows, and then with full company front, the magnificent cavalry corps, Sheridan's daring raiders, Sheridan's desperate fighters, wheel into view. The great captain is not with it to-day. He has gone, post haste, to the Rio Grande, to serve notice upon the French invader that the violent and insolent usurpation, which had presumed the disruption of

the great republic of the West, must now be totally and at once abandoned. In Sheridan's place,* and no less full of fire and fight, rides his favorite lieutenant, Wesley Merritt, worthy successor to such a chief, worthy leader of such a host. Eight thousand sabers strong, the cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac this day receives a full measure of applause in recompense for all its scouting and marching, its watching and picketing, its raiding and fighting. From sidewalk to housetop, the whole city of Washington, re-enforced by spectators from all over the Northern land, shouts itself hoarse as regiment after regiment, brigade after brigade of gallant horsemen, bronzed by Virginia suns, pass up the Avenue. Here rides the magnificent Custer, little reckoning in that proud moment of an early and a hideous death amid the fiendish yells of a horde of naked savages. There rides stout Davies. There, gallant Tom Devin. For an hour and twenty minutes the clank of sabers and the tramp of horse fill the air as the heroic cavalry of Gaines Mill and Chancellorsville, of Brandy Station and Aldie, of Gettysburg and Yellow Tavern, of Winchester and Fisher's Hill, of Tom's Brook and Five Forks, of Rice's Station and Sailor's Creek, ride proudly by.

The cavalry are gone, and gone forever. So splendid a muster of fighting horsemen will never again meet the eye of any of the 200,000 spectators of that May morning. The cavalry corps of the Potomac army has said good-by to President and to Com-

* Major-General George Crook, the next in rank, would have commanded; but General Crook had taken a short furlough during a few days of inactive cavalry work, and did not return in season for the review.

manding General, and, quickening its march, followed by the horse artillery brigade, briskly makes its way to the Circle, thence northward to its camps.

What is it that comes next in column, this small command of mixed cavalry and infantry? Who is the youthful officer with frank and manly face, wearing the right sleeve pinned upon his breast, who rides at its head? It is George Macy, of the Twentieth Massachusetts, leading the Provost Marshal General's brigade, in the command of which he had seven months before relieved our good General Sharpe, so long a chief pillar of this Society. Two regiments of cavalry and two battalions of regular infantry follow him, and then comes the engineer brigade, with its well known pontoons, under Benham. What stories those pontoons tell! What recollections they call to mind as they go lumbering by! How many times have our columns streamed over those bridges of boats in the joyous advance or in the sullen retreat! Do you remember that dull December day of 1862, when we fought our way across the Rappahannock, and up the streets of Fredericksburg?

Do you remember the retreat from Chancellorsville amid a fearful downpour and over a rapidly rising river, as we went back in shame and rage from that splendid initiative, and those three days of bloody, purposeless, useless fighting? Was it at Ely's or at Germanna Ford that you, or you, crossed the Rapidan on the pontoons in the opening of the great campaign of '64? What sight more eloquent of the mingled experiences of the great war, its triumphs and its reverses, its high hopes and its

shameful disasters, than those great arks of things at which we used to jeer as they went their toilsome way down the steep and clayey river banks of Virginia ?

And now a moment's suspense. An interval succeeds. Evidently it is no mere detachment, no engineer or provost marshal's brigade which is taking its time in the great march. And well is expectation repaid as, with a fresh burst of martial music, in all the pomp and circumstances of glorious war, the noble Ninth Corps, Burnside's old command, led now by John G. Parke, soldier, scholar, and stainless gentleman, bursts into view. Aye, thunder forth your applause, ye windows and housetops ! There are the men of the North Carolina expedition, the men of Roanoke and Newberne, who came up, under Burnside and Reno, to re-enforce the Army of the Potomac in its dire strait at the second Manassas and Chantilly, and to share its glories at South Mountain and Antietam. These are the men of Fort Sanders and Fort Stedman, of Spottsylvania and Bethesda Church, the men who, on the 25th of March, redeemed the day that had been lost, and in the early morning of the 2d of April leaped the Confederate intrenchment along the Jerusalem Road and answered Sheridan's dispatches from Five Forks with news of the fall of Petersburg.

With Parke, as division commanders, are Orlando B. Willcox, of Michigan, Simon G. Griffin, of New Hampshire, and John I. Curtin, of Pennsylvania. And, as our young artillerist scans the massive column, his eager eye discovers the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, which dug the mine at Petersburg ; the famous twin regiments of the North Carolina

battles, the Fifty-first New York and Fifty-first Pennsylvania; the veteran regiments of Massachusetts, the Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth, and that fine brigade of Western troops, under Col. Samuel Harriman, comprising the Seventeenth and Twenty-seventh Michigan, and the Thirty-seventh Wisconsin, which had done so much to teach Western dash and daring to the slower but not less steady soldiers of the Atlantic seaboard. Here, too, are such fine regiments as the Sixth, Ninth and Eleventh New Hampshire; the Seventeenth Vermont, the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Massachusetts; the Seventy-ninth and One Hundred and Ninth New York, and the Fourteenth Regiment of Heavy Artillery from that State; the Forty-fifth, Fiftieth and One Hundreth Pennsylvania, the First Michigan Sharpshooters and the Second Michigan Infantry.

With the Ninth Corps this day marches a division of troops that are not of the Army of the Potomac, but which, in the valley, under Sheridan, have vindicated their claim to brotherhood with the bravest and best. It is William Dwight's division of the Nineteenth Corps, with its three brigades under Beal, Davis and James D. Fessenden, of Maine. The Ninth Corps column is appropriately closed by its artillery brigade, under Gen. John C. Tidball, who rendered such distinguished services at the repulse of the Confederates on the 25th of March, and the recapture of Stedman.

Again comes the pause which tells that nothing vulgar or commonplace is to be ushered in. Again a burst of music fit to marshal heroes to receive the thanks of a restored, redeemed, triumphant nation,

and the splendid Fifth Corps, fresh from Five Forks, wheels around the Treasury, and, with the cadence step, advances to greet the President and Grant. At its head to-day is not the gifted young soldier whose prescience saved Gettysburg to the Union arms, and who, at Bristoe, turned his rear-guard upon both the pursuing columns of Lee. Why Warren rides not at the head of the Fifth Corps, this is not the time or place to ask; but if he is, indeed, to stand aside, silent and mournful, while his gallant troops go on to receive the thanks of a grateful nation, surely no worthier soldier could have taken his place than the grim, taciturn, and resolute veteran, Charles Griffin.

Here march all that are left of the old First Corps, which fought under the accomplished but unsuccessful McDowell, at Groveton and Manassas, under the daring and impetuous Hooker at Antietam, under John F. Reynolds at Fredericksburg, and again at Gettysburg, where, on the first of July, that most able and heroic officer laid down his life that Cemetery Ridge might be held for the troops fast coming up to that greatest battle of modern times.

Beyond Griffin, too, on this day march all that are left of the old Fifth Corps, which, under Fitz John Porter, bore the brunt of the Confederate assaults through the memorable Seven Days' Battles on the Peninsula, at Gaines Mill, at Glendale, and on the heights at Malvern; which at the second Bull Run, upon August 30, under the same gallant and accomplished leader made itself an immortal name by the fury of its attack, and the stubborn gallantry of its defense; and at Fredericksburg under Butter-

field, and at Gettysburg under Sykes, added fresh luster to its ever stainless arms.

Such was the body of troops which, under the personal direction of the Lieutenant-General, Warren led into the greatest campaign of 1864-65, and which, all the way from Wilderness to Five Forks, whether at Spottsylvania or on the North Anna, at Bethesda Church or at Cold Harbor, over the blood-stained intrenchments of Petersburg, or amid the tangled thickets of Hatcher's Run, had borne itself as became the renown of its two constituent corps out of the old Army of the Potomac.

The order of divisions is that of Chamberlain, who led his gallant regiment, the Twentieth Maine, in the fierce hand-to-hand fight that raged along the sides of Little Round Top, and in the closing struggle of 1865 swept with his well appointed brigade over the Confederate breastworks on the White Oak Road, and who now rides at the head of the old division of Morell and Griffin; then comes the veteran division of Ayres, brave Ayres, the soul of duty, honor and courage, ever ready and resolute, stoutest at heart when the hearts of others fail, and finally the division of Crawford.

Conspicuous among the many gallant regiments which this day form the Fifth Corps column are some which, by reason of their long service, sustained heroism and prodigious losses, can never be mentioned without emotion. These are the Sixteenth and Twentieth Maine, the Thirty-second Massachusetts, the Ninety-seventh, One Hundred and Fortieth, One Hundred and Forty-sixth, One Hundred and Forty-seventh New York, the Eleventh, Eighty-third, One Hundred and Eighteenth, One Hundred

and Twenty-first, One Hundred and Forty-second, and One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Pennsylvania, the First Maryland, one of the four regiments from that State, at the head of which rides Dennison with his empty sleeve, and those four noble Western regiments, the First and Sixteenth Michigan, the Sixth and Seventh Wisconsin. The last two regiments named belong to the famous brigade of the old First Corps known as the Iron Brigade from the West, out of which five regiments there fell during the war not less than 1,131 men, killed or wounded.

With two of the regiments I have named, the deadliest day had been Gaines Mill; with two, the second Bull Run; with one, Antietam; with one, Shepardstown Ford; with three, the deadliest day had been Fredericksburg; with two, Gettysburg; with two, the Wilderness; with one, Spottsylvania. In the case of most of these regiments there had been one special day of terrible trial, when, in the crisis of some desperate battle, the configuration of the ground, and the formation of the opposing lines at just that point, perhaps also the misbehavior of other troops, brought upon its front an intolerable and unimaginable weight of fire, when men dropped like leaves in autumn gales, and every one who stood drank deep of the bitterness of death. In instances these losses of a single day, perhaps of a brief hour of fighting, amounted to one-third, or even one-half, of all sustained during three or four years of service. Other regiments there were which had never known one transcendent moment of mortal agony, but had spread their gigantic total of the killed not very unevenly over a half score of battles.

Such, its column closed by Wainwright's Artillery

Brigade, was the Fifth Corps as it moved swiftly and steadily up the Avenue on that May morning, amid the plaudits of the spectators, past the reviewing stand, and then taking the route step, made its way to Georgetown, whence it marched across the Aqueduct Bridge to the well remembered camps at Ball's Cross Roads.

It is now four full hours since the column began to move, and all eyes are strained and weary from watching the quick-succeeding divisions and brigades. But of all who gaze from sidewalk or balcony, window or housetop, no one leaves his post, for a corps not less renowned than any which had fought out that bloody strife to triumphant issue advances to salute the chief under whom it has conquered.

At its head, on a snow white horse, followed by a score of officers all similarly mounted, rides that thrice accomplished soldier and scholar, Andrew A. Humphreys. His serene and noble face is lighted with the joy of triumph and the pride he feels in the troops which follow him, the corps of Sumner, Couch and Hancock, that corps which in fair fight with Lee's great army had taken 44 Confederate flags ere it lost a color of its own; which had left more than 40,000 of its numbers killed or wounded on the battlefields of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania; the corps which crossed the Chickahominy to the rescue of the beaten left at Fair Oaks; which delivered the great assault on Marye's Heights; upon which fell Longstreet's attack at Gettysburg; which stormed the Salient at Spottsylvania; and at Farmville on April 7, 1865, fought the last infantry battle of the war.

Out of the 100 regiments sustaining the heaviest

losses in all of the armies of the Union, East or West, 35 have served under this corps' banners. Some of these, indeed, long since wasted to skeletons, have been sent away from the front, but there still remain enough to witness three years of desperate battle.

Here is the First Maine Heavy Artillery, which leads the roll of regiments suffering the greatest absolute loss in a single battle, 632 of its officers and men having fallen in the desperate charge of June 18, at Petersburg, of whom 210 were killed or mortally wounded. Just one month before, at Spottsylvania, it had lost in action 147 killed or mortally wounded. Its aggregate for the war is 482, or 19 per cent. of its total enrollment.

Here, too, is the Fifth New Hampshire, gallant Cross' gallant men, which leads the roll of all infantry regiments in the total number of its casualties, 295 having been killed or mortally wounded in its ranks. There marches the First Minnesota, the regiment suffering the largest proportional casualties in any one battle, having lost 224 men, killed and wounded, out of the 262 it took into the action at Gettysburg, or 83 out of every 100.

Here, too, are such renowned regiments as the 17th and 19th of Maine; the First Heavy Artillery of Massachusetts, and its 11th, 19th, 20th, 28th regiments of Infantry; the 8th regiment of Heavy Artillery from New York, and its 40th, 52d, 61st, 63d, 64th, 69th, 73d, 86th, 88th, 93d, 111th, 120th, 124th, 125th, 126th, 164th and 170th regiments of Infantry; the 7th, 8th, 11th and 12th New Jersey; the 53d, 57th, 69th, 81st, 116th, 140th, 145th and 148th Pennsylvania; the 1st Delaware, Tom Smythe's old

regiment ; the 7th West Virginia ; Meikel's 20th Indiana ; the 5th and 7th Michigan ; Frank Haskell's 36th Wisconsin.

Such are some of the regiments which compose the column of the Second Corps in the grand review. Its first division is to-day commanded by Gen. John Ramsay. Here is all that is left of the old division of Sumner, Richardson and Hancock, including the once famous brigades of Brooke, Caldwell, Zook and Meagher, together with the survivors of Alexander Hay's brigade, which came up at Gettysburg and helped to hold Cemetery Ridge against Pickett's men. This is the division which lost in the war 2,237 men killed and 11,724 wounded. These are the men of the Sunday morning at Fair Oaks, of the Sunken Road at Antietam, of the Stone Wall at Fredericksburg, of the Wheat Field at Gettysburg, of the Salient at Spottsylvania, of the closing fight at Farmville.

Next comes the division commanded by Gen. Frank Barlow, the old division of Sedgwick. Here are the men of Ball's Bluff,—the men who crossed the Chickahominy with Kirby's battery on the 31st of May, to come up upon the right of the Fourth Corps at Fair Oaks, and who held the rear of the retreating army at Savage Station. These are the men who came alive out of the frightful charge at the Dunker church on the 17th of September ; the men who stood on the right and on the left of the clump of trees upon which Longstreet directed his great charge ; and who there, under Gibbon and Hall and Andy Webb, twenty-seven years ago this very day and hour, beat back the furious flood of rampant rebellion at its utmost height. With them are all

that are left of the Corcoran Legion, and of French's old Third Division of the Second Corps.

And now, under Gershom Mott, advances the last division of the great infantry column, made up of the survivors of the magnificent divisions of Kearny and Hooker. Its three brigades, under De Trobriand, Pierce and McAllister, tried in the fire of more than thirty battles, comprise a wealth of courage and discipline never surpassed in the history of war. These are the men of Williamsburg and Seven Pines, of Glendale and Bristoe Station, of Manassas and Chantilly, of Chancellorsville and the Peach Orchard at Gettysburg; who on the opening of the great campaign of '64, leaving their old associations with passionate regret, carried into their new relation the same devoted loyalty, the same fiery yet steadfast courage, which had made the name of the Third Corps the synonym of soldierly virtue.

And now Hazard's Artillery Brigade brings up the rear, and the great review is over.

This it was which the young officer of artillery saw, as for six hours he looked upon that mighty column, scarcely once withdrawing his eager gaze. What was it he did not see? What was it that he missed? Ah! that story would be longer, far, than the one which I have thus rudely and hurriedly told. Those who were absent from the column would have lengthened the march out through a whole day and night. How greatly, too, would their presence have altered its aspect!

Of those whose forms had once been most conspicuous in this gallant army, were some who, after rising to high command, had, whether through the accidents of fortune, or through popular or admini-

strative impatience, or because of their own confessed limitations, been removed, under more or less censure, yet carrying with them for life and forever the love and devotion of their soldiers. Such, in the highest place, were McClellan, Burnside and Hooker. A few there were whose retirement had savored of personal and political persecution. Their names will too readily occur to every mind to require mention here.

Many there were who with less observation had drifted out of the current of active operations, perhaps through changes for the benefit of the service, yet without any imputation upon their courage or patriotic devotion. Of these I surely need not speak. Others there were who in the height of their usefulness had been removed by cruel wounds, and had been condemned for the rest of the war to see younger and more fortunate soldiers occupy their places and lead their troops to battle. Some, too, there were who after long and continued service in the Army of the Potomac had carried their swords to other fields. Such were Hancock and Slocum, Couch and Howard, Williams, Gibbon and Geary.

But where, on the day of the great review, were Reynolds and Reno, Kearny and Richardson, Whipple and Berry, Stevens and Bayard, Rice and Wadsworth, Zook and Alexander Hays, Weed and Vincent, Taylor and Rodman, Stevenson and Smythe? All in soldiers' graves; killed in battle. Sumner, too, the heroic veteran, and David B. Birney, had yielded to the stroke of disease, hardly less fatal in war than the bullet of the enemy. The Sixth Corps was, indeed, still in the field. But where were Sedgwick and David A. Russell? And who shall call the roll

of the thousands of younger officers and tens of thousands of enlisted men who had dropped out of the ranks of that gallant army in three years of almost continuous battle? Had the eye of the spirit been opened upon the 23d of May, the spectator would have seen by the side of each man who moved firmly and proudly in the victorious column three wounded and crippled men, limping and stumbling in their eager desire to keep up with their more fortunate comrades, while with the four stalked one pale ghost.

Such, companions, have been my thoughts concerning the great pageant of 1865. What if the Army of the Potomac were to be summoned by authority which no man could resist, to meet in Washington this 25th year after the conclusion of the war, and all were to come up from their homes, East or West, North or South, to pass in review before the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States to-day? We should march in column along an avenue nobler and statelier far, through a city to which the Washington of 1865 was but as the grub to the butterfly. That city, the capital of a nation of whose grandeur the most patriotic American of a quarter century ago could have formed no adequate conception. Already in the front rank of the powers of earth, it stands at the entrance of a career such as has been vouchsafed to no other people. Greater than all the empires of history, yet under no necessity to raise an army for an hour, in war, whether to maintain its independence and its dignity, or to make good a single one of its rightful claims, it will be free to dedicate its mighty powers and resources, entire and undivided, to the glorious task of illustrating to

all mankind the blessings of peace, freedom, and educated labor.

But what of the column of that great nation's defenders in its hour of direst peril which would be summoned by such a call as I have proposed, to pass through the beautiful streets of the new Washington? Where are its leaders now? Grant is gone, and Sheridan and Meade. Gone are McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, McDowell, all who ever commanded that army, except the one I will not name. Gone are Hancock, Humphreys and Warren, Griffin, Ayres and Mott. More than half, doubtless, of those who took part in the grand review are now at rest, while among the survivors the shafts of death are falling to-day faster than they fell in '62 or '63 or '64. And of those who should come up at such a call, how changed the aspect. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* How enfeebled the limbs, how ashen and shrunken the cheeks of thousands who then strode along in all pride and vigor of youthful manhood! How many, think you, out of all that host could this day compass that one long march, much more undertake the stern duties of a soldier's life?

Yes, comrades, our day is over. Mustered out of service, enfeebled by years, disabled by wounds, we are no longer to be counted even among the military reserves of the country. Another war, should it occur, would have to be fought by younger and stronger hands than ours. But no one can take from us our certificates of honorable discharge, or diminish the part we had in the nation's deliverance. Whenever we see the statue of one of our heroes dedicated amid the applause of thousands, and the thunders of cannon, whenever we hear some moving

tale of the war in Virginia, whenever we see some crippled veteran halting in his steps, each of us may stand up and proudly cry, "I, too, was of the Army of the Potomac."

To the foregoing report the Secretary of the Society (General Horatio C. King) adds :

"The Secretary has not attempted to record the frequent applause in the oration or poem or in any of the proceedings. It was so generous that to note it would unnecessarily encumber the record. General Walker's masterly address was delivered without notes, and his recital of dates and details before an audience ready to catch him if he erred in any particular, displayed a remarkable memory and steady nerve. The attention bestowed and the constant interruption by applause sufficiently attested the appreciation of this superb effort."

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